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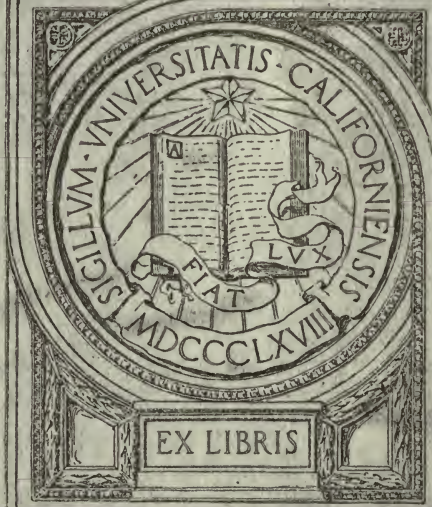
TUNGKING

BY

WILLIAM MESNY

IN MEMORIAM
Henry Byron Phillips



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TUNGKING.

BY

WILLIAM MESNY

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE IMPERIAL CHINESE ARMY.

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Henry Byron Phillips

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INTRODUCTION.

My motive in publishing this slight historical sketch, is to meet a much needed want, by supplying the public generally and the Eastern World in particular, with reliable information about Tungking.

The chief source of information has been the Yüeh-nan-chi-lio, a native work published in Kwang-Si. I am indebted, to the Prefect of Wu-chow for a copy of that important work, and especially to His Excellency Yüan or Ngu-yen, the Annanese Ambassador in 1880 to the Court of Pekin, for his courtesy in affording me much useful information about An-nan.

The account of the Black Flags is based upon knowledge acquired from two of my military pupils who were sent upon an Imperial Mission to the Headquarters of the band at Lao Kai. As they were not only natives of Kwang-Si, but had been formerly trusted chiefs of the T'ai-

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pings they were for a month the welcome and honoured guests of the daring Black Flag leader Liu Yung-fu.

I have also to acknowledge the assistance I have derived from ACHESON'S *Index to* WILLIAMS' *Dictionary* and to MAYER'S *excellent Chinese Reader's Manual.*

It was my intention to incorporate this little book, with the chapters on Yun-nan and Kwang-Si of a book, *The Chinese Empire*, now in course of preparation, which will contain an account of my travels, experiences, and observations in the Chinese Empire, and although that course may still be followed the ignorance of the public about Tungking made it advisable to publish these notes at an early date and in a convenient form.

WM. MESNY.

HONGKONG, *January*, 1884.

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TUNGKING.

CHAPTER I.

Tungking—Boundaries, Meaning of the name—Chief city—Its antiquity. Chinese legendary period—Historical name. Chinese Official name—French Official names of Provinces and Districts—Chinese nomenclature adopted by the Annanese—Origin of the name Lo-yüeh-ti—King Lo—The Lo nation and its ruler—Shu Wang—The Hsiung Nation—Period of the Lo and Hsiung—Period of T'ao and T'ang—Hsi-shu the Chinese Envoy—The court of Nan Chiao—Exiled Chinese Minister of State—'Huan Chou—The Modern Province of I-An.

TUNGKING is the term by which that portion of the kingdom of An-nan, forming the delta of the Song-koi or Red River, is generally known.

The Chinese kingdom forms the boundary of Tungking on two sides. The northern boundary is formed by the provinces of Yun-nan and Kwang-Si, and the Eastern by the provinces of Kwang-Si and Kwang-Tung. On the south and west Tungking is limited by the Black River and the Gulf of Tungking.

The word Tungking, like all names in the kingdom of An-nan, is Chinese, and means Eastern Capital.

This name was originally given to the chief city, now known as Ha-noi, or 'Ho-nei, when that place was the seat of royalty, but it has gradually acquired a wider significance until the present day, when the name embraces the whole of the surrounding country. The name would seem to be of comparatively recent date, having been used for the first time at the close of the last century, when the city of Ha-noi was rebuilt and fortified on Vauban's system.

The country has been known to the Chinese under various names, from a very early date, as mention is made of it in the legendary period of Chuan Hü, or about two thousand five hundred years (2500 B.C.) before the commencement of the Christian era. At that time it was known as Chiao-chih, by which name it is still called in the ordinary parlance of daily life.

We next find mention of the country under the style of Yüeh-nan-kuo, which is at the present time the official title applied to the whole of An-nan. Subsequently it was known by the various names of Lo-yüeh-ti, Nan-chiao, Lu-liang, Chiao-

chou, Wu-p'ing-chün, Chiu-chün, Sung-p'ing-chün, An-nan, or An-nam, Ching-'hai-chün, Ling-nan-hsi-tao, Ta-yüeh, and finally, in 1175 A.D., the name An-nan became, by order of the then reigning emperor Hsiaotsung, of the Southern Sung dynasty, the name of the country. This name is now generally incorrectly written as An-nam, a fashion set by the French. Notwithstanding this dictum of the Son of Heaven, we may consider the true historical name to be Yüeh-nan. We first find mention of the country by this name in B.C. 2500, and the fact of that name being handed down from the dim vistas of the legendary period, and surviving to the present day as the official name, is undoubted evidence of its widespread use and popularity.

The French, however, may and doubtless have good reasons for preferring An-nam as the collective name of the territory they appear determined to acquire, and I am not disposed to dispute their choice of names, whether Dai-bing or Song-koi, Tungking or Ha-noi, as these names will, when necessary, be used by me as those most generally known and in common use amongst Europeans.

The country has in the past often been divided

and sub-divided by various sovereigns, and in a map I have by me, the country is divided in the Chinese manner into twenty-eight Shêng or provinces, each Shêng being sub-divided into several Hsiens or districts.

The entire official nomenclature for the various official posts and officers is identically the same as that in use throughout the Chinese Empire.

The provinces and districts of An-nan are necessarily much smaller than they are in the Middle Kingdom, but this fact, although it makes the official duties lighter and the emoluments considerably less than in China, does not materially affect the official duties required of Government officers, which are virtually the same in China and An-nan.

We have thus far seen that the legendary records of the Chinese mention An-nan as early as 2500 B.C., under the name of Yüeh-nan, before which time tradition says it was known as Chiao-chih and subsequently as Lo-yüeh-ti. This last was probably the name of the ruler at that time, for it is recorded that Lo Wang or King Lo claimed to be the direct descendant of Shên Nêng, also known as Lo Hsiung Shih, the divine agriculturist of the Chinese. Tradition

nas it that this divine farmer lived 2750 B.C. Near the Chiang Shui, a river which flows from the Lieh Shan in the modern province of Shen-Si, I was taken to a place which was pointed out to me as the farm where he taught the people how to construct the wooden plough, and gave them practical instruction in farming. This patriarchal ancestor of the millions of modern Chinese agriculturists, most likely used fire to clear the land and to reduce his stubborn timber into useful if rough-and-ready farm implements, as he is called Yen Ti or the Fire Ruler. But it is recorded that even at that early period the kingdom of Lo was firmly established and well governed. The state was called Lo Kuo, the ruler Lo Wang or King Lo, the ministers of State Marquises, Lo 'Hou or nobles, its warriors were Lo Chiang, and the people were known as Lo Min.

After eighteen generations had thus passed, a dark cloud charged with disaster lowered over the Lo nation. War broke out, the Lo people were conquered, their ancient laws abolished, the form of government entirely changed, and all their national institutions were overthrown and suppressed by the usurper Shu Wang.

Having ousted the Lo dynasty and exterminated the last of their princes, Shu Wang assumed the style and title of An-yang Wang, and after firmly establishing himself as king, he proved himself a vigorous, energetic, and powerful monarch. Under this new régime the people became known as the Hsiung nation, a name doubtlessly derived from the warlike disposition of the new ruler, who was the founder of the Hsiung dynasty. The period during which these two dynasties were dominant is known as the Lo Hsiung Shih. That era was succeeded by the era historically known as the Tao-t'ang Shih. We find it recorded that during this period the Emperor T'ang Ti-yao, whose accession to the imperial title took place about B.C. 2356, sent an imperial envoy named Hsi-shu to reside at the court of Nan-chiao, the country which is now split into An-nan and the two Kwang provinces.

During the Yu-yü-shih era in the reign of Yü Tishun, about B.C. 2255, one of his ministers of State having misbehaved himself, was banished for his misdeeds to Ch'ung-Shan in An-nan. Under the T'ang dynasty Ch'ung-Shan was called 'Huan Chou in commemoration of its being the residence

of 'Huan Tou during his exile, it is now the modern Annanese province of Jen Shêng. Subsequent to this, troublous times broke the friendly bond hitherto existing between these two nations, and there appears to have been an entire cessation of intercourse between China and Annan, as for a period of more than a thousand years we have not a single syllable of authentic or traditional record. The two countries were for this long period apparently in a state of isolation as complete as if each was in no way cognisant of the existence of the other. The result is an immense gap in the historic continuity to this narrative.

CHAPTER II.

Chou Chêng Wang—First Annanese Envoy—Chung San-I—Annanese Tribute—Chou Kung's advice—Chung San-I's reply—Chou Kung flattered into compliance—The Envoy returns loaded with presents after having successfully achieved his mission.

In the absence of any authentic historical records, or of even the most hazy and indefinite legends or traditions, we shall boldly step over the intervening gap of more than a thousand years in order to place the reader on the firm basis of historic fact. . Intercourse between An-nan and China was revived under the Chou dynasty, at which time we first find mention of the court of An-nan sending tribute to the court of China. In the sixth year of the reign of Chou Chêng Wang, who, in 1115 B.C., succeeded to the throne of Wu Wang the Government of An-nan, took the initiative towards the renewal of friendly intercourse with China by despatching an envoy to the court of the Chou rulers. This envoy, named Chung San-I, presented himself at the

imperial court as the ambassador of the friendly court of Chiao-chih. He represented that the King of Chiao-chih, a lineal representative of the old Yüeh-shang-shih dynasty, had sent him with tribute to the Chou rulers, which he presented with the usual ceremonious formalities. This tribute consisted of some white birds, most probably cockatoos, some other birds, which were very likely peacocks, and a large quantity of ivory.

Chou Kung, the famous sage, who was uncle of the King Chêng, whose counsels and wise utterances are highly respected in the present day, strongly advised the court of Chou not to accept the offered tribute, giving as his reason that the Government of China had done nothing to merit such a mark of respect from so distant a court. Owing to his great personal influence his counsel was listened to, and, what more rarely happens, seems to have been for a time acted upon. As to whether the revered sage of that remote period was influenced in this decision merely by the wish to display Chinese politeness towards strangers, or whether he foresaw that in the dim future China might be embroiled in international disputes and difficul-

ties on account of her tributary states, history is silent.

It might have been better for China had Chou Kung remained steadfast in his resolution not to accept tribute, for, by her acceptance, China assumed the position of Suzerain with its appertaining duties, and thus made it obligatory on herself to be responsible for, and if necessary to undertake the defence of her tributary State. It was these very responsibilities that the venerable Duke Chou appeared so desirous of avoiding when he pleaded as his excuse, "I, as an upright statesman dare not accept your proffered tribute. You, as an honest official owe me none.

> "I have done naught to deserve it,
> You, nothing to owe it."

A wonderfully sagacious argument that—which it will be well for the rulers of China to remember if they would avoid the responsibilities which are incurred by a Suzerain State to its tributaries. But in the instance under consideration the subtle flattery of the Annanese envoy unfortunately prevailed, and caused the sage Chou Kung to reverse his decision. The historic reply of envoy Chung San-I was in substance as follows:—

"My own poor country has, during the last three years, enjoyed perfect peace and tranquillity. We have not been disturbed by violent commotions, such as earthquakes, neither have we suffered from the noisome pestilence nor gaunt famine. The very elements have been propitious, for no great storms or fierce tempests have destroyed our shipping or harassed our coast, whilst the turbulent waters have ceased to overflow their banks so that our crops flourish. These positive blessings as well as their freedom from all calamities, the Annanese nation attribute to the benign influences of the wise and puissant ruler who controls the destinies of the great Chinese people, wherefore the Yüeh-shang-shih nation seeing your people so greatly favoured have sent me, thy servant, to offer you this slight mark of respectful homage."

These words of eloquently artful adulation proved to be an argument whose convincing logic was irresistible. We can picture the sage complacently stroking his beard—if he had one—while he swallowed the bait so cunningly laid to entrap his wisdom by tickling his vanity. China accepted the tribute of An-nan, and sent the Annanese ambassador back to his own land

loaded with presents. Among these presents, five South Pointing Chariots are mentioned. These were in all probability chariots fitted with the ancient Chinese compass, which points to the south instead of to the north as do our modern European compasses. Thus high success crowned the friendly advances of An-nan, and the Annanese ambassador secured the famous Chou Wên Wang as overlord of his king and country.

CHAPTER III.

Historic Times—Shih 'Huang Ti—Chinese Expedition to Nanyüeh—Conquest of Lu-liang—Origin of the name Lu-liang—Ancient simplicity of dress—Love of Nature—Dawn of the Han Dynasty—Chao T'o—Nan-'Hai-yü—Tungking Invaded—Repulse of the Invaders—Prince An-yang—A Divine Mechanic—An ancient engine of war—Chao T'o's Superior discretion—An-yang's false security—An-yang neglects his deliverer.

We have now come to the historic period, and have at our disposal data with some real pretensions to reliability, which will assist us in unravelling the tangled threads of the Tungking question, which conceived in olden time and fostered till the present day seems not unlikely to be violently dissolved in the not far distant future.

In 218 B.C., the third year of the reign of the Great Shih 'Huang Ti or the First Chinese Emperor,* who not only strove to consolidate the country by suppressing feudalism, but built the stupendous work known as the Great Wall

* This is the same emperor who ordered the destruction of the books of the learned, including the works of Confucius.

to protect it from the attack of outside foes, an expedition was directed against the State of Nan-yüeh. After encountering many hardships, the expedition was successful, and took possession of Lu-liang, our modern Tunking, and dividing it into prefectures and districts, established a thorough system of military and civil organisation upon the Chinese model.

The name Lu-liang probably originated from the hardy inhabitants living in the rocky fastnesses of their wooded and mountainous country, where their naturally warlike disposition was greatly fostered till they presented a striking contrast to their kinsfolk who occupied the lowlands and valleys.

These hardy people were not much troubled by the changes of fashion, for in summer they were clothed only in their own skin, and in the winter time they covered their bodies with the skins of wild beasts. The people were pleased with nature's handiwork and made no attempt to improve it. The women were not ashamed of the smallness of their breasts, the largeness of their waists, nor the natural appearance and size of their feet. They allowed the natural beauties of the human form to develop in perfect freedom.

Everything was as it ought to be. The men were proud of their women, and the women were obedient and faithful to their husbands. Although all kinds of animal and vegetable food were freely eaten, temperance was the order of the day, and they esteemed water as the best of all liquors.

The power of the Great Chin now began to wane, and after the death of this mighty monarch his successors proved weak, vacillating, and utterly unworthy of their high descent. In the midst of this decline the Han dynasty began to loom big in the political horizon, in the person of Liu Pang, who was destined before long to dispute for the possession of imperial power with Pa Wang. Among the number of adventurers who during this unsettled period sought to gather power to themselves the figure of Chao T'o stands out in bold relief. This man, a native of Chên-ting-Fu in Chili, proved himself possessed of no mean military genius in addition to great powers of energy and determination. This warrior overran and conquered the country now included in the provinces of Kwang-Si and Kwang-Tung, and had himself proclaimed Prince of Nan-yüeh. About 200 B.C. this potentate established his court at

Nan-'hai-yü, the present city of Canton, where the remains of his palace, together with historic records of his residence and power, are to be seen at the present day. Having obtained a secure foothold at Nan-'hai-yü, he cast covetous glances towards Tungking, and it was not long before he found a suitable opportunity of invasion. The country, convulsed with those internal disorders which disgraced the closing years of the Ch'in dynasty, and torn by the struggles of various factions for power, seemed an easy prey to the ambitious warrior prince. He accordingly invaded Tungking in the hope of annexing that wealtny region to his self-acquired dominions, and marching his forces against An-yang Wang, he soon discovered the flimsiness of his dreams of a speedy and easy conquest. He met with experiences and difficulties similar to those encountered in our day by the French, and learned, like they have, that he had to cope with no mean foe. His forces met with stubborn resistance, were checked, repulsed, and were finally obliged to retire upon Wu-ning, the Bac-ninh of to-day, without having obtained any material advantage from this costly campaign. After a lapse of two thousand years we find in the early part of 1883,

history repeating itself in the similar fortunes of the French invaders.

Prince An-yang owed the preservation of his throne and country to the miraculous interposition of a stranger, who suddenly appeared in his realm. This stranger is spoken of as the divine mechanic, and would appear to have been well versed in the art of war. He is said to have constructed engines of war which were used with terrific effect against the invaders, a single discharge disabling thousands of the enemy.

Chao T'o, finding himself unable to successfully contend against the combined influences of mechanical skill and supernatural power, withdrew with his baffled troops to his capital and stronghold Nan-'hai-yü. He did not however abandon his design of acquiring Tungking, but postponed action until a more favourable time. He did not allow his mortification at his want of success to blind him to the necessity of still farther strengthening himself by fortifying his advanced position at Bac-ninh, and cultivating the friendship and patronage of Han Wu Ti, who had by this time succeeded in firmly establishing himself on the throne of China. Chao T'o recognised the founder of the Han dynasty as his suzerain, and,

having thus secured his principality from the invasion of the successful Chinese army, he concentrated all his talents and energies on his scheme for the acquisition of Tungking.

This course of action was in marked contrast to the conduct of the successful prince An-yang. This latter potentate, unduly exalted by his success, became vainglorious and lethargic. Forgetful of the vital assistance rendered to him in his time of tribulation by the divine mechanic he slighted and neglected his benefactor. Prince An-yang did precisely what the present Ta-tsing dynasty has lately done to many of those Europeans who afforded them such material help in suppressing the Tai-p'ing and other rebellions.

The saviour of An-yang and Tungking was allowed to depart with few thanks and scant courtesy, as soon as the immediate need for his valuable services and co-operation was no longer visible. The engine of war which had wrought such havoc in the ranks of the invaders was allowed to fall into a state of disrepair and decay, although An-yang had been expressly warned that upon its careful preservation and safe keeping depended his dominion and power.

An-yang, dwelling in fancied security, and unheedful of the affairs of state, thought of nothing but ministering to his own voluptuous pleasures. He lived up to the Turkish adage of never doing to-day what he could put off till to-morrow. Peace had been restored to the State, there was no rumour or even thought of war, but an unhealthy —foul—stagnant peace hung like a pall over the land.

"*Is it peace or war? Better war, loud war by land and sea,*
War with a thousand battles, and shaking a hundred thrones."

CHAPTER IV.

Chao T'o sends an envoy to the court of An-yang—An-yang flattered by his foe—The Beautiful Pearl—Chao Shih obtains possession of the famous engine—He returns to Chao T'o—The secret expedition—An-yang subdued—Further conquests of Chao T'o—His death.

In the meantime dire disaster drew near. Chao T'o, long brooding in secret how to retrieve the defeat which had overwhelmed his previous attempt, saw, with secret satisfaction, the criminal carelessness of his former enemy to all state cares. He saw those officers to whom the preservation of the State was due, neglected and allowed to leave Tungking unrewarded, unhonoured, and laughed in derision at his unwary neighbour. Chao T'o having learnt by bitter experience the foolishness of underrating his foe resolved not to blunder a second time. He carefully matured his plans, and determined to send his son and heir Chao Shih upon a special mission to the court of Yüeh-nan. The young envoy was carefully instructed in his royal father's plans, and fired with youthful ambi-

tion left for the court of An-yang with the resolve to do all in his power to make his important mission a brilliant success. The envoy had much in his favour, he was young and clever, the polished scion of an important royal house, and heir to the large dominions over which his warrior father ruled with a firm hand. His father was a renowned warrior, the popular ally and vassal of the imperial house of Liu, a man feared and respected by his neighbours, in short, one whose friendship was worth securing, and whose enmity it was rash to provoke. It is no source of wonder then that the young envoy, on arrival at the court of his father's old enemy, was, after having duly presented his credentials, entertained with every mark of consideration and honour. As was intended An-yang felt highly flattered at this mark of attention from his most powerful and dreaded neighbour, and readily fell into the wiles of his deeply designing foe. It became the fashion to court the favour of the royal envoy, and would have been considered the greatest folly to have provoked his displeasure. His wit and sprightliness carried all before it, and he grew in favour with man and woman, so that no one could withhold anything from him. Chao Shih was how-

ever as wise as a serpent, for he did nothing that could in any way lessen his power, and in no way abused his high privileges, but ever kept steadily in view the successful accomplishment of his mission. The court of Yüeh-nan was a gay and brilliant one, and festivities of all kinds formed one unceasing round of pleasures. But amid all the beauteous women of the court there was one young maiden so fair and peerless that she was called Mei-chu, which being interpreted is The Beautiful Pearl. This fairest of the daughters of men was the favourite child of An-yang, and she, as all beautiful and accomplished maidens should do, fell in love with a brave young man, in her case the youthful and accomplished envoy. The young prince reciprocated the affection of the princess, and to the intense gratification of both the lovers, Mei-chu's royal parents did everything in their power to encourage and hasten on the marriage which they hoped would, in the person of Chao Shih, bind the Hawk of Nan-hai to their interests. The whole court were delighted at this felicitous end of the mission, but this great success and happiness only caused the young prince the more to remember the more important object of his mission, and the duty he owed his father,

as a filial son, a loyal subject, and a special ambassador.

Chao Shih, availing himself of the influence of his spouse Mei-chu, sought, and notwithstanding the solemn warning of the divine mechanic, he obtained possession of the talismanic engine, which, like the ark of the Israelites of old, gave certain victory to the side possessing it. As he could not remove it without exciting suspicions he carefully studied its construction and mechanism, until he had thoroughly mastered every detail of the engine, when he deliberately destroyed it by sawing it to pieces. As in the time of prosperity no one had taken any interest in the machine, and it had been no one's duty to look after it, Chao Shih had by this act of judicious vandalism effectually destroyed the talisman, for with the exception of the divine mechanic, who had left the kingdom, no one but himself possessed the knowledge necessary to repair it or to construct a similar engine. Having thus brought his mission to a triumphantly successful issue, he returned with honour to his father's court before anyone suspected the mischief he had done. He was welcomed at Nan-'Hai-yü with great rejoicings. Preparations were ener-

getically pushed forward for a secret expedition against the unsuspecting and unprepared state of Yüeh-nan. This expedition skilfully conceived and carefully worked out was a complete success, for the kingdom of Yüeh-nan was subjugated, and passed away from the royal house of An-yang to that of his wiser and wilier neighbour. After this conquest and successful annexation, king Chao T'o assumed the style and title of Wu Wang or the Warrior king. Thus it happened that if not the whole of An-nan, at least that part known as Tungking, became an integral portion of the kingdom of Nanyüeh, the king of which had sworn fealty and allegiance to the Emperor Han Kao Ti, the founder of the Han dynasty of China.

But Chao T'o was not satisfied. He was bent on further conquest, and availing himself of the disorders which prevailed in China upon the death of Han Kao Ti and the Regency of the Empress Lü, he shook off this allegiance, defied the power of the Han, and annexed the province of 'Hu-nan to his self-acquired dominions. After this act of annexation he thought it politic to renew his allegiance to the imperial house, and accordingly in the reign of the Emperor Han

Wên Ti he did homage for his kingdom. This stiff old warrior prince lived for many years a quiet life, attending assiduously to the affairs of state, and when the fulness of his time was come he died, being more than one hundred years old.

CHAPTER V.

Subjugation of the kingdom of Nan-yüeh—Têng Yung governs Chiao-chih—Lady Chu heads an insurrection—General Ma Yüan—The insurrection suppressed—Lady Chu captured and executed—Ma Yüan raises a bronze pillar on the confines of the Empire—Ma Liu-jên, guardians of the pillar—Memorial temples to Ma Yüan.

After the lapse of a number of years the state of Nan-yüeh began to decline, till in 116 B.C. it was subjugated, and became in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Hau Wu-ti an integral portion of China. The former dominions of the renowned Chao T'o were after annexation divided into nine prefectures and governed by a regular staff of civil and military officials, like the rest of the great empire. Everything went on peacefully until the commencement of the Christian era, when the numberless internal disorders, resulting from the jealousies of those rival statesmen who were at the helm of affairs during a succession of emperors who were minors, were fanned into insurrectionary heat, until Wang Mang bursting

into open rebellion, usurped the throne, and so broke the empire into several fragments.

In 25 A.D. the accession of Kuang Wu Ti partly restored the shattered fortunes and empire of the imperial house of Liu, and laid the foundation of the Eastern Han Dynasty. He gradually acquired power, and in the fifth year of his reign he received a mission consisting of Têng Yung, Governor of Chiao-chih, and Hsi Kuang, a prefect of the same state. These two envoys were not only the bearers of tribute, but came to tender their submission and swear allegiance to the imperial court. As was customary Têng Yung was ennobled as Lieh 'How, and sent back to his own land, accompanied by an imperial officer named Jên Yên, whose duty it was to instruct the officialdom of Chio-chih in the Chinese system of education, rites and ceremonies, and general administration. This latter officer did not perform his duties in a wise manner, but gave so much offence in carrying out the instructions of his imperial master that the people rose in armed insurrection. The patriotic rebels were headed by the wife of Shih-tsu, the son of a famous Lo commander named Chu. The courageous lady Chu soon made

herself a power in the land. At her beck thousands took to arms and rallied round her standard, willing to do her bidding. This chivalrous and patriotic heroine put herself at the head of her troops, which, like our modern Joan of Arc, the maid of Orleans, she led on from victory to victory until she had besieged and taken sixty-five cities and driven the Chinese from the greater portion of Chiao-chih. Having rescued this tract of country from the imperial grasp she assumed royal power and title by having herself proclaimed Sovereign of Chiao-chih. With the assistance of her sister she ruled the kingdom with great ability and prudence, and for some years the people were peaceful and happy under her sway, while she herself enjoyed undisturbed power.

The imperial court could not, however, calmly brook such a powerful rival, and fearing that if she were left alone her power would increase until she could master the whole empire, it was decided in the eighteenth year of Kwang Wu Ti, 42 A.D., to despatch a powerful expedition to effect the subjugation of distant but formidable Chiao-chih. This expedition was entrusted to the veteran general Ma Yüan, then seventy years old,

who had already greatly distinguished himself by repelling and hurling back the daring Thibetan forces that had invaded the western Chinese frontier.

When this expedition reached Chiao-chih the Sovereign Lady Chu was in the height of her glory, and her kingdom enjoying a prosperous, healthy peace. At her call the people flocked once more around their honoured and beloved ruler; but although her troops fought with great gallantry they were unable to withstand the better armed and more numerous soldiers of Ma Yüan. In several engagements she was defeated, her forces scattered, and finally, the two noble sisters were taken prisoners. When these two heroic women were brought into the presence ot Ma Yüan their courage did not fail them. They had fought for their country, and bore their adversity without shrinking. Ma Yüan did not allow himself to be fascinated by the beauty, martial prowess or voluptuous charms of his captives, but feeling somewhat scandalized at their nakedness, he cut off the very capacious sleeves of his state dress and handed one to each of the fair sisters, with instructions to pass them over their heads down to their waists, and there

fasten them. The sleeves formed convenient skirts to cover their naked limbs, and by this act Ma Yüan unconsciously instituted that fashion of female dress which has lasted through long centuries, prevailing as it does to the present day, for that one simple act of kindly charity won the gratitude of the entire nation it was his business to subdue. Attired in this simple yet gorgeous costume, the two ladies Chêng T'sê, or Chu, and Chêng Erh, were led forth to public execution. They thus paid with their life's blood for the bold patriotic attempt they had made to keep their native country free and independent. Yet the Tungkingese would seem to have been dead to all feelings of gratitude, or they would have paid some marks of honour to those brave women who were martyrs for their country and people, instead of lavishing them upon their conqueror, Ma Yüan. The imperialist commander, being desirous of perpetuating the fame of his military achievements in Tungking, had a pillar of bronze erected on the confines of that state. This pillar was to mark the boundary of the tributary kingdom, and the inscriptions on it not only stated this fact, but there was a notice to all armed bands of Annanese not to pass this rubicon, or

make raids in China. There was also inscribed a solemn warning, addressed to the Tungkingese people, stating that on the day when this pillar was removed or injured the destruction of the State of Chiao-chih would be certain. In order to secure the safety of this monument, Ma Yüan ordered a score of veterans to remain behind as a guard. These men and their descendants were in after years generally known as Ma Liu-jên, or the men detained by Ma.

Honours and rewards were showered upon the successful warrior on his return, and he was created Fu-po Chiang Chün. Nor was this all, for temples were erected in his honour in many parts of Kwang-Si, where tradition still keeps alive the memory and fame of his martial deeds and exploits. One temple situated near the great rapids of the West River is especially noticeable for its perfect preservation. It is kept in repair by the boatmen of the river, who regard Ma Yüan as in some special manner entitled to their gratitude and honour. A reputation which has endured for eighteen centuries, and which is still quick and lively, is unquestionable testimony to the military genius of Ma and the great ascendancy he had acquired over the inhabitants of the turbulent borderland.

CHAPTER VI.

Chih Hsieh—Chiao-chih sends tribute to Wu Ta Ti—Chiao-chou Chieh-tu-shih—Sung-pien 'Hou—The prefect of Chiao-chou rebels—The end of the rebellion—Chiao-chih renamed by Wu-p'ing Chun—The name altered by succeeding dynasties.

In 190 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor 'Han Hsien Ti, the prefect of Jih-nan in Chiao-chih returned from that country to his native place. This man, orginally a native scholar of the Chinese state of Lu, the modern Shan-tung, being seized with a spirit of unrest and adventure, had gone to Chiao-chih, where he had distinguished himself so greatly that he, a foreigner, had been raised to the dignity of prefect.

On his return, his fame as a traveller was noised abroad until it penetrated the precincts of the royal palace, and reached the ears of the reigning potentate. Chih Hsieh was presently summoned to court, and on his arrival this ancient explorer was received in audience by his sovereign, who raised him to the ranks of the aristocracy as a Lung-t'ing 'Hou. After a short stay with his

kinsmen, Chih Hsieh, the newly-created Marquis Lung-t'ing, went back to Jih-nan and quietly resumed his official duties. After the final collapse of the 'Han dynasty, the State of Chiao-chih on receipt of the news resolved to send a special envoy to the court of the new Emperor, and the Marquis of Lung-t'ing was selected as the suitable man. The advent of the Marquis of Lung-t'ing at the court of Wu Ta Ti bringing tribute from so distant a State was hailed as an event auguring well for the newly established royal house of Sun. The Emperor was highly gratified by this mark of attention, and in commemoration of the occasion changed the name of Chiao-chih to Chiao-chou, whilst the ambassador was created a Lung-pien 'How, and had bestowed on him the important and responsible post of Chiao-chou Chieh-tu-shih, or Commander-in-Chief of the imperial forces in the State of Chiao-chou.

The object of the Emperor in making these changes was evidently to impress the Annanese with a sense of his great power and authority. It was a clear indication of his desire to govern An-nan directly as a colony, rather than as a semi-independent State. It was the thin end of

the political wedge intended to deprive An-nan of its autonomy; for when the Annanese government had made Chih Hsieh Prefect of Jih-nan, they did so as a signal mark of their appreciation of his abilities and services. But when the Suzerain stepped in and placed this fortunate and enterprising immigrant above all his former Annanese colleagues and superiors, then was struck the death-blow of the right of An-nan to promote or demote an official without reference to the imperial court. On the death of the new Viceroy his son 'Hui did not succeed him, but was merely appointed Prefect of Chiao-chou. Time soon proved 'Hui's allegiance to the reigning house of Sun to be of the slenderest kind, for that official headed a revolt, presumably with the intention of possessing himself of the power his father had enjoyed. But this was not to be. The Emperor Wu Ta Ti, greatly incensed at the treachery of 'Hui, despatched Wu Tai with an expeditionary force to crush the rebellion, punish the leaders, and restore order in the distant colony. Complete success attended the expedition. Wu Tai, who previous to starting had been created Chiao Chou Tzu Shih, landed without opposition, and summoned the rebellious 'Hui to

his presence. The order was obeyed, for 'Hui together with his five brothers presented themselves at the imperial headquarters, where they humbly acknowledged their guilt, and, craving pardon for their treasonable offences, offered guarantees for future good behaviour. However, the imperial commander remained obdurate, and, being exceeding indignant with the treason and abject cowardice of the six brothers, who piteously begged for mercy, he, after treating them with contempt and contumely, ordered his young men to fall on the traitors and hack them to pieces. This act of severity caused the stern commander to be held in great awe by all classes, so that the imperial authority was quickly and firmly re-established. The reigning Emperor, in order to commemorate the suppression of the revolt, changed the name Chiao-chou to Wu-p'ing Chün, and governed it by martial law, a practice maintained by succeeding dynasties.

The Chin dynasty called it Chiu Tê Chün; whilst under the Sung, Ch'i, Niang, Ch'ên, and Sui dynasties it was known by the name of Sung-p'ing Chün, after which time the ancient name of Chiao-chih was again revived.

For some two or three centuries the sovereign

State was too busily occupied in protecting its own people and defending its northern frontiers from invasion by the nomadic Tartar hordes to be able to attend to its distant colony. Although all questions relating to Chiao-chih were shelved during several centuries, very little harm seems to have befallen the colony from the inability of the mother-country to actively interfere in its governance. It must, however, be admitted that the people of Chiao-chih have scarcely ever displayed such an aptitude for administering their own affairs as would entitle them to claim autonomy or independence. When left to themselves, they have broken into mutual recriminations and quarrels, until the Suzerain has been obliged to interfere. They were no more capable of governing themselves than is Ireland at the present time. Occasionally capable men appeared, and by their vigorous rule reduced anarchy to order, having by their superior abilities induced the clannish and jealous chieftains to submit to their headship. But this capacity for government and administration was not hereditary, nor did a succession of such great men arise, for in the course of one or two generations, everything was again in a state of anarchical confusion.

Claimants for, and pretenders to, royal power rose on every side. The rival disputants, with their armed bands of partisans and retainers, rent the country with internecine strife, in which each and all displayed a total indifference to, and disregard of, the rights of property, the welfare of their unfortunate country, or the sanctity of human life, whilst miseries untold fell on the unhappy land: but the end was not yet.

CHAPTER VII.

The T'ang dynasty and Chiao-chih—An-nan Tu-'hu Fu—New territorial divisions—Revolt of Chan Ch'êng—General Ma Tsung—The colonists attempt to assert their independence—Suppression of the insurgents by Tu-'hu Fu Kao P'ien.

With the rapid flight of time in China, dynasty succeeds dynasty without any material improvement in the condition of An-nan being effected. For century after century An-nan, like an unsolved problem or an enigma defying solution, remained as a bone of contention for the governing powers and its own inhabitants, who, like the Irish of to-day, unwilling to accept quietly the wholesome discipline of subjection to a strong beneficent power, were in a constant state of ferment, although hard experience had proved them incapable of successfully asserting or maintaining the independence they claimed. In the nineteenth century the Annanese are apparently no nearer the peaceful solution of this difficulty

than they were at the commencement of the present era.

In China, Li Shih-min, having successfully overturned the rule of the licentious Sui Yang Ti and firmly seated his father T'ang Li Yüan on the imperial throne, lost no time in seeking to extend his dominions. Being a man of considerable parts and lofty ambition, he resolved not to rest satisfied until he had subjected to his father's rule the whole of the country formerly embraced in the bounds of the empire in the days of the Han dynasty. With this end in view, he pursued a career of conquest, and at a very early period he reduced the former colony of Chiao-chou, which during the lapse of some centuries of relaxed rule had acquired semi-independence, to subjection, and, naming it An-nan Tu'hu Fu, divided it into Fên Chün and Chou departments. The Fên Chün were probably military prefectures, and the Chou smaller divisions or magistracies. There were three Fên Chün and ten Chou, as follows:

(1.) The Chiao-chou Fên Chün, subdivided into

(1.) Wu-O-Chou.
(2.) Yueh Chou.
(3.) Chih Chou.

(2.) The Ai Chou Fên Chün, subdivided into
- (1.) Fu-lu Chou.
- (2.) Chang Chou.

(3.) The 'Huan Chou Fên Chün subdivided into
- (1.) Fên Chou.
- (2.) Lu Chou.
- (3.) T'ang Chou.
- (4.) Yü Chou.
- (5.) Ai Chou.

These three Fên Chün, comprising the ten Chou, formed a military command called Ching 'Hai Chün, Chieh Tu Shih, or the colony named Lingnan-hsi Tao, subject to a Lieutenant-Governor or Tao T'ai. After this we hear no more of An-nan until the reign of the Emperor T'ang Hsien-Tsung, who ascended the throne in A.D. 806. In the third year of the term Yüan-'Ho, A.D. 809, Chan Ch'êng raised the standard of rebellion, but the Chieh Tu Shih, Ma Tsung, marched against the rebel forces, gave them battle, and so thoroughly routed them that they fled for safety in all directions. By this military promptitude quietness and order was restored, and for rather more than half a century we hear nothing more of An-nan. However, in A.D. 862, during the reign of the Emperor I-Tsung, the colony attracted the

attention of the sovereign State. The people had been gradually freeing themselves from the imperial yoke, and General Kao P'ien received an imperial decree instructing him to subdue the colonists to allegiance and enforce the imperial laws in Chiao-chou. The disaffection was speedily crushed out, for the insurgents were defeated with great slaughter by the imperial troops.

The Annanese do not appear to have greatly improved their condition by becoming the willing feudatories of China. When, after centuries of independence, they sought the protection of China, it was probably because they thought it more advantageous to be the voluntary tributaries of a great nation than the compulsory slaves of a smaller State. But having put their head into the halter, they soon found that the authority of the Suzerain was more irksome than they imagined, and the frequent struggles to recover their lost independence only resulted in the yoke being made the heavier and their vassalage the more certain.

CHAPTER VIII.

An-nan invaded by Ma Hsi-fan—Submission of Ch'ü Ch'êng-mei to Emperor Niang Chên-ming—Li Chih seizes Tungking for Liu Lung-shan—Yang Yen-shih, the liberator of An-nan—His death—His son succeeds to power, but is slain by Wu Ch'ang-chi, who assumes royal authority—Ting Kung-cho and his son—Autonomy of Chiao-chih or An-nan.

At an early period of the tenth century the T'ang dynasty became extinct, and the five succeeding dynasties strove not merely for supremacy within the bounds of the empire, but to extend its borders in all possible directions. Thus, in A.D. 915, the Emperor Niang Chên-ming despatched an adventurous warrior, Ma Hsi-fan, with a large army to effect the conquest of An-nan. He subjugated a considerable portion of the country, and, imitating the example of the illustrious Ma Yüan, he erected a bronze pillar on the most distant frontier, so that future generations should know of his conquest. Shortly after this the horizon began to lighten with hope for harassed Tungking, for there arose a native leader

who rallied the people to him and boldly wrenched the government of his fatherland from the imperial grasp. This adventurous patriot, named Ch'ü Ch'êng-mei, after organising An-nan, secured his position by a wise and politic step, for he did homage to the house of Niang. His submission was accepted, and so great was the imperial favour that he was honoured and formally appointed Chieh-tu Shih of An-nan.

Not for long did he retain his power. Liu Lung-shan (?), who pretended that he was of imperial lineage and descent, assumed the title of Nan 'Han Wang, and founded the Southern 'Han dynasty. A partisan of this monarch named Li Chih-shun, endeavoured to extend the empire. He invaded An-nan, defeated the opposing forces, seized Ch'ü of Ch'êng-mei, and subdued the country, which again became a colony of China, but not for long. The Tungkingese having once tasted of the sweets of freedom, were ripe for rebellion, and soon a leader appeared in the person of Yang Yen-shih. This patriot stirred up a successful rebellion, freed his country from absolute dependence on China, and ruled An-nan with a firm and powerful hand. Although he rendered nominal allegiance to the imperial

house of ʻHan, he vigorously maintained an actual independence, which they were quite unable to gainsay. The then emperor, glad to keep the nominal suzerainty over An-nan, at Yang Yen-shih's own request conferred on him the title of Chiao-chih Chieh-tu-shih. After a short spell of power the liberator died, and was succeeded by his son Shao-ʻhung. This man did not possess his father's power of governing, so disaffection soon showed itself. The permanent unrest and discontent of the people encouraged a powerful Annanese military chieftain, named Wu Chʻang-chi, to conspire against Shao-ʻhung, whom he slew. After this murder Wu Chʻang-chi usurped legal power and state and founded the house of Wu.

In A.D. 963, during the reign of the Emperor Sung Tʻai-tsu, Wu Chʻang-wên, who had succeeded his elder brother as king of Tungking, died, bequeathing the kingdom to Wu Chʻu-pʻing, a near kinsman. This man divided the kingdom into twelve independent states or principalities, over each of which he placed a Shih Chü. For a time everything went on prosperously, but a great change was at hand. A man named Ting Kung-cho, a sub-prefect or Tzʻü Shih of a district, obtained great influence over the people by his

courageous daring and uprightness. His son also was very popular and a great favourite with the people, who by this time had begun to realise the power of combined action and the benefit of uniting to exercise a voice in the administration of their own affairs. The earliest result of this newly acquired knowledge was their unanimous election of their youthful favourite to the post of Yüan Shuai or Commander-in-chief of the Annanese forces. The young commander was no laggard conservative, but a zealous reformer, bent on consolidating the kingdom by fusing the twelve Shih Chün into one homogeneous State. Having carried his idea into execution, he placed his father on the throne, with the title of Ta Shêng Wang or Great Conqueror. The prince gave his heroic son the appointment of Lien Chieh-tu-shih, the highest military command in the newly-united kingdom of An-nan. Just after the completion of this important revolution, Prince Ta Shêng received news of the total extinction of the Nan 'Han dynasty and the assumption of imperial power by the victorious house of Sung; and fearing lest his newly-founded dynasty should incur a like fate, he determined to secure himself, if possible, by tendering allegiance to the greater

power. His overtures were successful, and he was rewarded for his prompt voluntary submission by the Emperor investing him with the title of Chiao-chih Chün Wang, and in addition the power he had conferred on his son was confirmed by an imperial edict creating him Chieh-tu Shih. The imperial house of Sung thus recognised and confirmed the newly-recovered autonomy of An-nan, and it is henceforth spoken of as an outside or barbarous frontier-state under the title of Fan I Kuo.

CHAPTER IX.

Prince Ta Shêng—His decease and successors, Princes Lien and Chin—Li'Huan deposes his sovereign and usurps the throne—Prince Chin solicits aid from China—An expedition of redress is sent under command of Generals Liu Ch'êng, Chiu Li, and Wang Chüan—Li 'Huan defeated at Pai-t'êng-chiang—Jên Pao's ambition—He falls into an ambuscade, is slain, and his army totally destroyed—Liu Ch'êng dies of chagrin—Hsü Chung-hsüan reports the disaster at Court.

This dawn of autonomy was destined to be of short duration, and in the sudden eclipse of independence all the old horror of assassinations, conspiracies, sedition, rebellion, usurpation, battles lost and battles won by trickery or craft, is again to darken the page of the history of Tungking.

In one short sentence we record the death of Prince Ta Shêng and his elder son, Prince Lien, who succeeded him. This latter prince was succeeded by his younger brother, Prince Chin. Had this prince possessed a tithe of his father's fertility of resource, courageous daring or power of wise administration, he might have lived quietly

and happily in fulfilling the task of restoring prosperity to the united, independent, but wearied Tungking, which he inherited. But his feeble and spiritless government annoyed his subjects so greatly that one of his ministers of State, the ambitious Li 'Huan, was enabled quietly to depose Prince Chin and assume the kingship. The dethroned sovereign having no party in the State who were willing and able to help him recover his lost power and dignity, did, by appealing to China for forces and aid wherewith to oust the usurper, subjugate the people, and reinstate himself in his lost kingdom, basely surrender that freedom and right of self-government which his warrior father had so nobly and hardly earned. China, ever willing to assume protectory rights, listened to his cry, and in A.D. 981 the Emperor Sung T'ai-Tsung issued an imperial decree demanding the instant submission of Li 'Huan, and ordering three imperial commanders, Liu Ch'êng, Chiu Li, and Wang Chüan, to put themselves at the head of a vast expeditionary force, invade Tungking, punish the traitorous Li 'Huan and other rebels, and reinstate the deposed monarch. The imperial army soon reached the scene of its operations, and in a pitched battle the army

of Li 'Huan was utterly routed at Pai-têng-chiang. This unexpected success fired the ambition of a commissary officer or Chüan Yun-shih, named Jên Pao, who, all athirst for military fame, asked and obtained permission to command a large body of troops, who were detached to pursue the fugitive Annanese soldiery. But his ardour overcoming his discretion, he thought only of pursuit, and neglecting all precautions necessary to keep his rear open, and thus maintain his communications with the main army, which could act as a support or base of operations in case of a reverse, he allowed his rash and foolhardy zeal to lead him far into the heart of an unknown and hostile country. Li 'Huan was quick to perceive this grave defect, and to prepare a plan to checkmate his antagonists.

Messengers arrived in Jên Pao's camp with offers of the rebels' submission to China, the result of which was open neglect and carelessness on the part of the imperial troops, whose commander was deluded into the belief that the one battle had ended the outbreak. Meanwhile Li 'Huan was not idle, but making active though secret preparations to crush the foe. Taking advantage of their false security, he suddenly fell

on their camp, and entirely annihilated Jên Pao, his staff, and the forces under his care. Communication with the main army had been so effectually cut off, that a considerable period of time elapsed before news reached headquarters of the terrible disaster which had befallen the imperial arms, and so black was the prospect that Liu Ch'êng, the imperial commander-in-chief, on receiving the fatal news shut himself up until he died of bitter disappointment, thus anticipating the fate which his angry sovereign would have meted out to him. After the death of their leader, Hsü-chung-hsüan, the former assistant of the unfortunate Jên Pao, memorialized the throne on the subject of the awful catastrophe in Tungking, laying all the blame on the shoulders of a dead man, the late commander-in-chief, and advising the recall of the remnant of the Chiao-chih expedition, as it was impossible to avenge the disaster, or in any way restore the prestige of the imperial arms.

On receipt of this memorial, the emperor issued an imperial decree recalling the troops from Chiao-chih, ordering condign punishment on all the superior officers, the decapitation of the two surviving commanders, Chiu Li and Wang Chüan,

and conferring posthumous honours on the deceased Jên Pao who was created Kung Pu Shih-lang, or President of the Board of Works, for his loyal courageousness in advancing into the heart of the enemy's country. A more fitting reward would have been a granite pillar with the inscription: "Died Jên Pao as fool dieth."

Li 'Huan, successful in his usurpation and in his defiance of the imperial power, made firm his authority in Chiao-chih, and then went through the farce of submitting to and craving punishment from his beaten foe. But of this in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Li 'Huan sends tribute to China in A.D. 984—Death of Li 'Huan in A.D. 1004—His son Lung-yüeh succeeds him—Lung-t'ing usurps the throne—Ming-'hu appeals to China for aid, but is refused—The usurper submits to China in 1007—Revolt of Li Kung-wên, who also sends tribute to China, and is rewarded by title of Nan-p'ingo Wang—Succession and death of his son Têchêng, who is in his turn succeeded by Jih-tsun—Revolt in 1059—Order restored by General Yü Ching—In 1070 Jih-tsun complains of his tributary—Capture of Prince Chan Ch'êng—Jih-tsun dies, and is succeeded by his son Ch'ien-tê—Revolt of Magistrate Chu-chou—General Kuo K'uei defeats the rebels—The Emperor of An-nan pays tribute to China and recovers his lost territory—Yang-'huan—T'ien Tsu—In A.D. 1175 An-nan is again restored to independence—An-nan Kuo Wang.

In 984, the second year of the term Yung-hsi of the Emperor Sung T'ai-tsung, Li 'Huan thought it advisable to secure the countenance of discomfited China, and accordingly he sent an ambassador to the Sung court with valuable tribute, and in return received imperial recognition and favour. He was called An-nan Chieh-tu-shih, and after two years the higher royal title of Chiao-chih Chün

Wang was bestowed on him. Some twenty years later, in 1004, this founder of a royal house died, leaving the throne to his heirs, descendants of whom survive to this day, and are of political importance as the rightful claimants of the throne. Lung-yüeh succeeded his father, but was promptly ousted foom royal power by his brother Lung-t'ing. This caused another brother, called Ming'hu, to go to Lien Chow in China to seek imperial aid and troops wherewith to crush the usurper and reinstate the rightful monarch. The court of China, although very tenacious of its rights, and generally quite ready to assert its power, was on this occasion deaf to all the entreaties and arguments of the envoy, who returned to An-nan baffled and mortified. For some years public affairs in An-nan were in an extremely unsatisfactory condition, the usurper barely managing to keep his position, but in 1007 we find him so firmly established as ruler of An-nan that he sent a mission to China with the usual tribute. His overtures were accepted, and with the confirmation of his kingship he was awarded the royal title of Ta Chung Wang. Shortly after this, in 1008, Li Kung-wên, a military officer in the Annanese service, put himself at the head of an insurrection,

and drove Ta Chung Wang from the land. He claimed royal power and state as being a lineal descendant of a former king, and wishing to secure the recognition of the suzerain State he sent an embassy bearing tribute to China. His tribute was accepted, and he was formally invested with power and authority as Nan-p'ing Wang or King of the Peaceful South, a somewhat sarcastic title when the history of An-nan is remembered. He made good his grip of the country, and despite all the opposition he encountered, lived and died king of An-nan. He was succeeded by his son Tê-chêng, who after a short and uneventful reign, was in turn succeeded by his son Jih-tsun. This latter monarch had not long ascended the throne when two provinces were rent from his dominions.

During the reign of Emperor Sung Jên-tsung, in the year 1059, great disaffection prevailed in several departments of An-nan, until finally the smouldering embers burst into flame. Ch'in Chou and Yung Chou, two of the more important provinces, rose in armed rebellion, and seceded from the rest of An-nan, but the imperial government took prompt action, poured troops into the disaffected districts, and commanded General Yü Ching to suppress the rebellion.

This was soon done, and order was once more restored, at least for a time. At this time An-nan was somewhat of a semi-independent principality, over which China, as the Suzerain State, exercised unmistakable rights, interfering with the internal administration, sending troops to restore order, making kings, conferring titles, or crushing rebellions against any ruler whom China was pleased to recognise and support. Jih-tsun thus had just cause for fearing that, as such rapid success had attended the imperial arms, he might be deemed incapable of governing, and removed from his kingdom. He accordingly hastened to present a memorial to the Emperor, in which he acknowledged his negligence in the maintenance of order within his realm, and prayed for punishment mete for his delinquencies. The memorial was thus a sort of sop in the pan, a public confession of faults and shortcomings, a sign of repentance, a prayer for merciful punishment, and a petition for reinstatement in royal favour. The Emperor allowed him to retain his kingdom, but somewhat sternly admonished him to be careful in his administration of the government, and to practise assiduously those virtues which are consistent with the duties of a king.

In the next reign, that of the Emperor Sung Shên-tsung, in the year 1070, Jih-tsun made complaint of the shortcomings of Chan-ch'êng, a tributary state which had neglected to forward its regular customary tribute, and sought the imperial permission to exact the usual payment by force of arms. As soon as he had despatched this complaint he mobilised his troops and declared war against the defaulting State without waiting for the permission he had sought. The Annanese arms were completely successful. The backsliders were completely defeated and cowed, the offending prince was captured and carried to the court of his suzerain to be dealt with according to the enormity of his offence. The king of An-nan having thus asserted his authority by avenging the insult offered to his dignity, became unduly elated by his success in the field, and proclaimed himself Emperor, assuming the title of Ta-yüeh 'Huang Ti. But his cup of glory was full. He died soon afterwards, leaving his throne to his son Ch'ien-tê.

Now it came to pass in the eighth year of the term Hsi-ning, or 1076 of the present era, that a high officer of Chu-chou threw off his allegiance, and quickly made himself master of several districts. Imperial troops were despatched

against him under a warrior named Kuo-k'uei, who made short work of the rebellion. The arch-conspirator was slain, his family put to the sword, his residence razed to the ground; whilst his adherents and followers, having lost their leader and being several times discomfited, dispersed in all directions, quietly resuming their neglected occupations. This fiasco scared Ch'ien-tê the Emperor of An-nan so effectually that he, dreading the imperial arms, despatched an envoy with tribute and offers of allegiance to the Chinese court. This act of timely homage proved acceptable, the imperial Suzerain was appeased, graciously restored the lost provinces, and, among many other signal favours, ordered the army of occupation to withdraw from the dominions of Emperor Ta-yüeh, thus leaving him free to rule as he pleased. After a fairly peaceful reign the Emperor Ch'ien-tê was gathered to his forefathers, and Yang-'huan his son reigned in his stead. Now Yang-'huan died, and left the throne to his son T'ien-tsu, who obtained the recognition of his birthright and imperial title from the Sung Emperor, Hsiao Tsung. This prince, by his skilful diplomacy, acquired in the year 1175 a Charter of Independence from the Emperor of China. Although for some years the rulers of

An-nan had styled themselves Emperors they had never been recognised as such since the first dawn of autonomy, in 963, had suffered total eclipse. The rulers of An-nan for nearly two centuries had been merely tributary princes of a distant colony, but by this charter the prince of An-nan, T'ien-tsu, was by imperial edict invested as An-nan Kuo Wang or King of An-nan, and thus actually declared a free and independent monarch. This fact, capable of historic proof, has often been doubted by many, but, although the French government have endeavoured to show that An-nan has always possessed independence and the right to make treaties with outside Powers without reference to China, this is not the case. For twenty-four centuries after An-nan had voluntarily asked for the Suzerainty of China, the latter power had systematically treated its tributary either as a province, a distant colony, or at most as a semi-independent but strictly subject State.

The year 1175 is historically remarkable as the first year in which China by an Imperial Charter of Independence voluntarily restored full autonomy to turbulent Tungking.

CHAPTER XI.

T'ien-tsu's rule as an independent monarch—Succession of Lung-han—'Hao-shan succeeds to the throne—Princess Chao-shêng abdicates in favour of her consort—Jih-'hsüan's memorial to the Emperor of China—Its result.

THE first act of the new monarch was to proclaim An-nan an Empire, but he did not make use of his independent position to introduce any reforms in his dominions, to strengthen the country, or to govern wisely and well. About the days and events of his reign history utters not a word, so that it is probable he quietly rested in monastic-like satisfaction with himself and the world generally. He was succeeded by his son Lung-han, who after a short and uninteresting reign was in his turn succeeded by his son 'Hao-shan, who died without leaving any male issue to ascend the throne. Thus it happened that his daughter the Princess Chao-shêng succeeded to royal power and state. After a time, however, we find that, wearied out with regal care

and state affairs, she took unto herself a husband, Prince Chên Jih-'hsüan, in whose favour she abdicated.

In 1262, being the third year of the term Ching-ting, the new Emperor of An-nan reported to the Emperor of China the facts connected with his accession to the throne, and besought the imperial recognition of his claims, and confirmation in his kingship. The Emperor granted all that was asked of him, and in addition decreed the male issue of Chên Ta Wang, the legitimate heirs to the throne of Tungking. This was the last act of interference by the Emperors of the Southern Sung dynasty in the affairs of An-nan.

CHAPTER XII.

The Mongols found the Yüan dynasty—Death of Jih-'hsüan—Wei-'huang sends tribute to China—He abdicates in favour of his son Jih-'hsüan, who is summoned to Peking—His uncle proclaimed An-nan Kuo Wang—Flight of the new king—Invasion of An-nan in 1285 by the Mongol army—Accession of Jih-tsun—The second invasion—Defeat of the Annanese fleet—The invaders compelled to retreat—Jih-'hsüan submits, and in 1291 dies—Jih-tsun sends mourners to the imperial court—Invasion of China—Jih-fou sends tribute to China in 1332.

Under the Sung dynasty the military power of China steadily waned, everything was corrupt, for to court favourites were given all the high military appointments, and the greatest claim a favourite could have for a post was to know nothing whatever about it. The hereditary foes of China, the Mongol Tartars, were not slow to perceive her helplessness, and soon the great wall proved a very inefficient protection from these wild nomads, who made armed incursions into the rich provinces within that marvellous but useless fortification. All these things

hastened the downfall of the Sung dynasty, and its collapse was completed by the terrible Khublai Khan overrunning the country with his Mongol hordes, and defeating the Chinese everywhere, until all opposition being crushed, he finally completed his conquest by founding, in 1260, the Yüan upon the ruins of the Sung dynasty. In the second year of his reign it was made known to the Great Khan that Jih-'hsüan the Great had died, and had been succeeded by his son Wei-'huang, according to the imperial edict of the late dynasty. This news was brought by a mission which the new king of An-nan had sent to China, with a view of propitiating the Great Khan, and securing, by means of tribute, his friendly support. This mighty potentate, known in Chinese history as Yüan Shih-tsü, received the mission favourably and confirmed Wei-'huang by conferring on him the title of An-nan Kuo Wang. But it came to pass, that in 1278 Wei-'huang died, leaving the crown of An-nan to his son Jih-'hsüan, who, by assuming imperial power without first seeking the permission of the Emperor Shih-tsü, gave great offence to that sovereign, who in his anger sent an imperial herald to the court of An-nan to summon Jih-'hsüan to the court of China to

answer for his disrespect. The herald arrived and delivered his summons, but without effect, so a second summons was sent by an officer of higher rank, who only succeeded in persuading the Annanese monarch to despatch his uncle as envoy to the imperial court of China.

The wily uncle, on arriving at court, persuaded the Emperor of the futility of expecting the present king of An-nan to give way, and gently insinuated that he, the uncle, should be invested with the royal power as An-nan Kuo Wang. This was done, and the uncle returned to An-nan, from which he had departed an envoy, as the rightful king, duly invested by his Suzerain. He was accompanied by a body of imperial troops, who were to dethrone the insubordinate king, and install and sustain the loyal envoy in the kingship. On the arrival of the new monarch at the capital of An-nan, the officials and people declined to meet the imperial wishes. The would-be king and his imperial guards were compelled to fly for their lives from the wrathful monarch and an indignant people. But this affront to the dignity of the Great Mongol only roused his ire, and accordingly, in 1285, he instructed two of his most renowned and trusted warriors, T'o 'Huan, surnamed the Prince

Conqueror of the South, and A-li-'hai, surnamed P'ing-chang, to lead an expedition into An-nan to chastise the insolent people and punish their rebellious king for his defiance of the imperial decrees. When Jih-'hsüan heard the rumours of this threatened invasion, he took energetic measures to secure his realm from invasion. From the absolute silence of Chinese historians as to the results of this expedition we are left to infer its fate. This is no difficult matter, since the silence of the Chinese and the fact that Jih-'hsüan not only remained in possession but assumed the imperial title of Ta-yüeh 'Huang Ti, or Emperor of the Great Yüeh nation, we may rationally suppose that the Mongol chiefs and their hitherto victorious veterans were repulsed and driven from Tungking by the hardy inhabitants. Although we have no historic record of the achievements or fate of the expedition, we have evidence that the brother of the presumably victorious monarch made his way to the Chinese court, sware allegiance to the House of Yüan, and was rewarded, as his discomfited uncle had been, by the empty title of An-nan Kuo Wang. In 1288 we find it recorded that a second expedition under the same famous commanders was sent to

subjugate An-nan, dethrone Jih-'hsüan and establish his loyal brother Yi-chi.

Great precautions were taken to ensure the success of this second invasion. An army corps entered An-nan from Yün-nan, and the main army of invasion entered from Kwang-Si by means of the great West River, whilst a large fleet under an experienced naval officer was instructed to act in concert with the land forces. The troops established their headquarters at Ssü-ming or Ming-chiang T'ing. The fleet proceeded to a port called An-pang 'Hai-K'ou, at which place the Annanese fleet soon made its appearance. This was the signal for a long series of naval encounters between the hostile fleets. No less than seventeen naval engagements are recorded, the culmination of which was a great sea-fight, in which the Annanese fleet was severely crippled. This one defeat cost the conquered four thousand men in killed and wounded, besides several of their ships, which were either burnt or sunk. Soon after this desperate fighting the imperial fleet sustained a reverse. A large fleet of grain ships was being convoyed by a number of imperial war junks, when the Annanese fleet fell in with it, beat off the convoy, removed the grain, and burnt

the ships. In the despatch from the seat of war to the court, it was stated that the Chinese threw the grain into the sea, to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy!

T'o 'Huan was not to be delayed by the loss of his stores, but quickly advanced, crossed the Fu-liang Chiang with his army, and so completely defeated the enemy in a hard-fought battle, that Jih-'hsüan and his son fled to a large island on the sea-coast, most probably 'Hai-nan. When the imperialists reached T'ien-chang 'Hai-k'ou and found no traces of the Annanese royal family, they withdrew for the winter to the city of Chiao-chih, probably modern Ha-noi. But while the imperial commander was wasting his time in comfortable winter quarters, the fugitive king busily employed himself in raising an army. After he had gathered together three hundred thousand warriors, he occupied the mountain passes in the rear of T'o 'Huan, extended his line over a hundred li of mountains and passes, and compelled the imperialists to hurriedly evacuate the city, and seek safety in a precipitate retreat. But this was no easy matter, for all the passes were in the hands of the Annanese and strongly guarded. At last, after considerable trouble, a

barely practicable route was discovered, viâ Yan-chi Hsien to Ssü-ming Chou, and along this route the remnant of the Chinese army gradually found its way back to China. After clearing his land of the invaders, Jih-'hsüan sent an embassy to the Mongol court to acknowledge his fault, and the enormity of the crime of driving the Chinese invaders from Chiao-chih. Shortly after this he died, and in 1291 was succeeded by his son Jih-tsun. The new monarch sent a mission to China, the only result of which was a summons from that haughty court to come to Peking. Jih-tsun remained quietly at home, and in due time another expedition for the invasion of Tungking was started. It had not got far on its way when, the Emperor of China dying, its farther advance was forbidden by his successor, Chêng-tsung, in 1295. The opportunity was seized by Jih-tsun, who sent mourners to the imperial court, and was rewarded with the title of An-nan Wang. On his death he was succeeded by his son Jih-chang, who, in 1311, sent an embassy to, and then immediately invaded China, penetrating a considerable distance into Kwang-Si before his Annanese troops were repulsed by a Mongol force despatched from 'Hu-nan to oppose them.

Shortly after this short-lived attempt to turn the tables by invading China, Jih-chang died, and was succeeded by the Shih-tzü* Jih-kuang, who, in 1326, sent an embassy to the Emperor T'ai-ting Ti. Six years later, in 1332, the Shi-tzü Jih-fou also sent a mission with tribute to the court of the Emperor Wên Ti. But the latter mission proved a failure, for the emperor entirely ignoring the ambassadors, they had the mortification of returning to An-nan without the slightest notice having been taken of them, or their having achieved anything whatever.

* Shih-tzü is the equivalent of Crown Prince.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Ming dynasty founded—Prince Jih K'uei sends tribute to China—The gold and silver seal—A Chinese resident appointed to An-nan—Revolt of Shu-ming, 1374—His abdication—An Annanese regicide, 1388—Death of Shu-ming, 1396—Li Chi-li makes his brother king and then slays him—Slaughter of innocents—China sends ambassadors to An-nan to invest the king—Protest of the ministers.

For nearly a century Mongoldom dominated China. But in 1368 the Yüan dynasty was crushed, and by a dark plot thousands of Mongols throughout the length and breadth of China were slaughtered in one night, as in England on St. Bride's day, some centuries earlier, and in France on St. Bartholomew's day, two centuries later, the Danes and the Huguenots, unsuspicious of danger, were foully murdered during the watches of the night. After the bloody close of the dynasty founded by the Great Khan, the chief conspirator, a Buddhistic priest, of plebeian origin, named Chu Yüan-chang, founded the Ming dynasty.

The founder of the Ming dynasty had no mean capacity for wise administration, and by his energetic rule he soon brought the neighbouring States under the imperial ægis. In the first year of the term, 'Hung-wu, 1368, an imperial commissioner was despatched to the semi-independent States, on the south-western frontier of China, to demand their submission to the House of Ming and payment of the customary tribute. Accordingly, in 1369, we find that Jih K'uei, prince of An-nan, sent the usual present to the imperial court, and sought investiture from his liege lord, the Emperor of China. His tribute was accepted, and his request granted, for he obtained the title of An-nan Kuo Wang, a special commissioner being appointed to proceed to An-nan with the imperial edict of investiture, and the seal of office. This seal is known as the Chin-yin Yin, or gold and silver seal; and was to be handed to the tributary monarch after his investiture, as the emblem and insignia of royal power. As the imperial commissioner was crossing the frontier, he was met by an Annanese envoy carrying despatches to the imperial court, announcing the death of Jih K'uei, the accession of Jih Chien, and seeking imperial sanction and

investiture for the new king. The commissioner did not proceed, but awaited the result of the Annanese envoy's mission to the imperial court. The emperor was pleased to grant the request of the Annanese monarch, and appointed a political resident and deputy resident to the court of An-nan. The resident was Wang Lien, a 'Han-lin-yüan Pien-hsiu, who forthwith proceeded to An-nan with his deputy and the previously appointed commissioner, and after solemnly investing Jih Chien as An-nan Kuo Wang, begged his acceptance of some costly presents from his imperial Suzerain. The resident was allowed perfect liberty of active interference; and it is perhaps owing somewhat to his action that, in 1374, an uncle of the king named Shu-ming, violently usurped the throne of An-nan. The usurper then despatched envoys to the Ming Court, but without success. Although greatly mortified at this failure, he deemed his recognition by China to be of such political importance, that he sent a second mission, with costly presents and a memorial, in which he humbly acknowledged his faults, and requested punishment from China; but this second mission was, like the first, a complete failure. The Chinese emperors would have

no intercourse with the blood-stained usurper who grovelled at their feet. Finding all attempts at conciliation useless, he abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Chuan, hoping that the royal power would be secured to his branch of the family by the imperial recognition of his brother. Chuan, in 1375, sent a mission to China, but with no better success; for the Chinese court were apparently determined not to recognise or countenance in any way the kingship of usurpers and revolutionists. In 1378, Chuan died, and was succeeded by his brother Wei; who, although he renewed the attempt to ingratiate himself in imperial favour, fared no better than his brothers. In 1388, Li Chi-li, a minister of state, assassinated his master, king Wei, and elevated a nephew of the murdered king to the throne, at the same time making himself regent. In 1396, Shu-ming died, and on a notification of this event being sent to the imperial court, the Board of Rites was instructed to inform the government of An-nan that the imperial government would hold no intercourse with rebels and usurpers. Three years later, in 1399, the regicide minister murdered the puppet he had dubbed king, and placed a youthful son

of his victim on the throne. This youthful king, named Yung, found that the penalty of displeasing the king-maker was death, for he was soon murdered by Li Chi-li. It looks as if Li Chi-li had sworn a vendetta against the house of Shu-ming, and took the method of first letting them taste the sweets of royal power, and, after making their life a burden by his evil machinations, slaying them unmercifully, in order that he might get rid of the whole of the direct male representatives. After this, he raised his own younger brother to the throne; but in a fit of anger he slew him also, and followed this up by the wholesale butchery of every member, male and female, of the royal family of Chên. Having by this terrible destruction of human life cleared his way to the throne, he assumed the title of King of An-nan, changed his family name from Li to 'Hü, and had his family proclaimed the rightful heirs to the bloody crown of An-nan as the lineal descendants of the ancient and virtuous Shün. King Yi-yüan altered the name of the country to Ta-yü, had his son proclaimed Emperor of Ta-yü, and himself assumed the title of T'ai-shang 'Huang Ti, or King of Kings. During this period of bloodshed, the Emperor

of China died, and was succeeded by Ming Chêng Tsu; who, in 1403, consented to receive a mission from An-nan. The Annanese envoys brought rich tribute to the imperial court. They had the satisfaction of being well received, their tribute accepted, and successfully accomplishing their mission. Yi Yüan was formally invested by imperial commissioners as king of An-nan.

While this had been going on, an old minister of state of An-nan had found his way to the imperial court, and there protested against Yi Yüan's investiture. He declared that a member of an ancient royal house was living among the Lao tribes as the honoured guest of the great chieftain Lao Kuo-ssŭ. The claimant's name was Chên T'ien-p'ing, and on his being brought to the imperial court, he found favour in the eyes of the Son of Heaven. This augured ill for Yi Yüan An-nan Kuo Wang.

CHAPTER XIV.

T'ien-p'ing, receiving imperial encouragement and support, invades Tungking in 1405—His death—Troops from Yün-nan—Leonine cavalry—Capture of Hanoi—Capture of Chi-li and his son—An-nan remade a colony—Revolt of Chien-ting in 1408—Chêng Chi-kuang, Emperor of An-nan—The Imperial troops withdrawn—Fresh revolution in 1418—The Red Coat rebels—China again interferes—Wang Tung's command of the Imperial troops—Their successes—His army is annihilated by the despised Annanese.

WHEN the next mission from An-nan came to the imperial court, the Emperor received them in audience, and suddenly introduced the young pretender, Chên T'ien-p'ing, to them. The envoys immediately recognised him as a direct descendant of the royal house of Chên, and acknowledged the legality and justness of his claims to the Annanese throne. This confirmed the emperor, and in the springtide of 1405 he summoned the king of An-nan to submit, commanding him to send a mission of ministers of state and other high officials to the imperial court, so

that the rightful king might be safely and becomingly conducted to An-nan and seated on the throne of his ancestors.

These decrees were very unpalatable to the usurper, for they threatened, not only his shaky throne, but his life, so he sent a petition to the emperor seeking imperial favour and clemency, at the same time engaging to do the imperial bidding. As he did not show any signs of proving more amenable to argument, orders were issued, in 1408, to the two commanders ‘Han Kuan and ‘Huang Chung to mobilise the Kwang-Si army corps and see T‘ien-p‘ing properly installed in his capital as king of An-nan. The threatened monarch took every possible means to defeat the enemy. An ambuscade was skilfully prepared, into which the imperial troops were inveigled and mercilessly slaughtered by their despised foe. The would-be king was slain, and but few of the invaders escaped to tell the tale, whilst the Annanese, who had sustained but slight loss, returned to their homes laden with the rich spoil of their over-confident foe and elated by their decided success over the imperial forces. When after some months news of the catastrophe reached the imperial court, the Emperor, furious

at being so baffled by a little State, ordered the Duke of Ch'êng Kuo and the Marquis of Hsin Ch'êng to raise an army to avenge their fallen comrades, retrieve the honour of the imperial troops, and restore the lost prestige of China.

An-nan was again invaded, and the Chinese established their headquarters at Lung-chou T'ing, but here the Duke of Ch'êng Kuo died, so that sole command devolved upon his colleague the Marquis of Hsin-ch'êng. This latter officer resolved upon energetic action. By a series of rapid forced marches he overtook the Annanese army, forced them to give him battle, and routed them with great slaughter. This battle caused the fickle Annanese to forsake their unfortunate king, 'Hü, who had to fly for his life. Immediately after the battle the veteran warrior, Mu Shêng, Marquis of Hsi-p'ing, effected a junction with the victorious troops, and brought to their aid a vast body of tried Yün-nan warriors. The two armies formed an imposing and awe-inspiring sight. So great was the number of troops, that the lines of the encampment extended over nine hundred li, or about three hundred English miles. After some delay operations were resumed. The troops moved out of their gigantic camp, and,

dividing into two bodies, advanced into the enemy's country along divergent lines. Mu Shêng, with his Yünnanese warriors, going south-west, whilst the Kwang-Si contingent, under Hsin-ch'êng, proceeded to the south-east. It was not long before the resources of the great Kwang-Si commander were sorely taxed. He was met in his advance by King 'Hü, who had succeeded in gathering around him a considerable army. He had pressed into his service a large body of trained elephants, who bare on their backs warriors and engines of destruction. At the sight of this astonishing apparition the Kwang-Si army was seized with consternation, and a panic set in amongst them. Their general, however, had seen too many hard-fought battles and strange devices to be easily daunted, and he soon infused courage and hope into his despairing troops. He caused the camp artificers to make a number of artificial lions. He lashed these monsters on horses, and on commencing the battle, he first fired off his guns when close to the enemy and then launched his lion-mounted horses at them. Such was the impetuosity with which this strange cavalry charged, that elephants and men, scared by the thunder of the guns, and horrified at the

fiends they imagined were fighting for the foe, turned and bolted for dear life. The elephants, in their mad career of flight, rushed right and left amongst the Annanese ranks and wrought terrific havoc. The Annanese were completely routed, their king only escaping by the skin of his teeth, for, in order to avoid his pursuers, he had to steer out to sea in a small boat he found stranded on the beach.

The imperial troops flushed with two victories turned away to the eastern capital, Tung Tu, the modern city of Ha-noi, and after taking it by storm settled in quarters there. Soon after the western capital, Hsi Tu, which is the present capital of the Ching-hua province, fell into the hands of the Yün-nan army corps, who strongly garrisoned it, and took every precaution against surprise. Scouts were sent out, who soon discovered the whereabouts of King 'Hü and the wretched Chi-li, the king of kings, who were kept under the strictest surveillance by means of spies. These men soon brought the news that Chi-li had, with the assistance of his son, raised a fleet of war junks which lay at anchor at Yin Chiang. The watchful commanders of the imperialists conducted an attack on this fleet by land

and sea, which resulted in its dispersion. Chi-li and his son fled, but were pursued and finally captured at Ch'i-lo 'Hai K'ou. This important capture was soon complemented by the capture of the fugitive king. A native mountaineer, named Wu Ju-ch'ing, whilst crossing the Kao Wang Shan, near the port of Yung Yang 'Hai K'ou, fell in with his unfortunate sovereign, and, Judas-like, betrayed him, together with a band of trusty followers and relatives, into the hands of the enemy.

The whole of the prisoners were sent under strong escort to the imperial court, where they were summarily executed, with the exception of Ch'êng, a son, and Jin, a grandson, of the tyrannical but unfortunate king of kings.

After this successful invasion, An-nan was reannexed to China as a colony, and three officers were appointed to govern it. These officers were entitled Tu-Tung-Ssu-Ssu, Pu Cheng-Ssu-Ssu, and An Cha-Ssu-Ssu, and filled the offices now filled by governor, treasurer and judge. This triumvirate ruled the country, and in order to govern it more easily they cut it up into numerous divisions and subdivisions for the administration of which a small army of Chinese officials was imported, and

thus An-nan became an integral portion of the Chinese Empire, even as parts of Alsace and Lorraine have formed, since the war of 1870, an integral portion of the German Empire. But although suppressed, embers of insurrection still smouldered, and towards the close of this eventful year a revolt headed by Chien-ting broke out. Mu Shêng was commanded to again take the field at the head of his Yünnanese warriors, and being a man of action he was soon in the heart of An-nan, advancing without much opposition as far as the river Shêng Chüeh 'Ho. At this place his army sustained a defeat but managed to keep their position. After this the veteran commander was reinforced by that experienced soldier, Chang Fu, his former colleague, who was sent to be his deputy. These two men were given extraordinary powers, and were left their own masters subject to no conceited, ignorant, and obstructive literati. Whilst waiting for the support of the Kwang-Si army, Mu Shêng was obliged to remain inactive, and Chien T'ing waxed stronger, bolder, and haughtier, finally proclaiming a protégé of his, Emperor of An-nan.* In 1409, about midsummer,

* A lineal descendant of the house of Chên is at present living and fulfilling the post of provincial treasurer for Shan-Si, a little above Sontay.

the Kwang-Si commander engaged the rebel host at Lien Chou and at Chih Chou, defeating them with great slaughter. Two months after this, Chien-ting was captured by the victorious Chinese troops. But in 1410 the revolt broke out again, and the cry was this time for independence for king and country. This outbreak was headed by Chên Chi-kwang, the man whom Chien-ting had proclaimed Emperor of An-nan. This insurrection took nearly four years to subdue, and it was not until the insurgent chief, Chên Chi-kwang, was captured at Lao Kuo in 1414, that it was suppressed. Although no great battles were fought, the campaign seems to have been a tough one for both sides.

In 1415 rebellion again broke out, but was quickly crushed by Chang Fu; and yet again, in 1418, insurrection rent the unhappy country. This latter rebellion was caused by the tyranny and extortion of the higher Chinese officials. The movement began in the prefecture of Ching-'hua, in the district of O-lo, and was headed by the district magistrate, one Li Li, who by his skilful management gained a large following. He then assumed the imposing title of P'ing-ting Ta Wang. The imperial commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces in An-nan marched against the

rebels, but without much effect, for he found them strongly entrenched and was unable to dislodge them from their position. The non-success of the Chinese troops encouraged P'an Lian the prefect of I-an, in 1419, to join in insurrection. He carefully disciplined his followers, who were known as the Red Coat Rebels from the colour of their tunics. Towards the end of the year he was defeated by the imperial troops and compelled to fly for his life, but the reverses of the patriots roused Fan Yü, a buddhist priest, to energy. He left his monastic life and called the people to arms. After giving the Chinese much trouble this martial priest was defeated and captured by his enemies.

For some half dozen years Tungking enjoyed a breathing space of peace.

In 1426 one of the Chinese emperors sent his favourite eunuch to An-nan with the imperial pardon of the rebels and the offer of an appointment for Li Li. The pardons were accepted but the offers of office declined by the patriot chieftains, who withdrew in voluntary exile to the rocky fastness of the Lao Kuo country. At the same time the officials who had been the main cause of all this trouble were summoned to court

to give an account of their stewardship. But this emperor died and was succeeded by the Emperor 'Hsuan Tung, whose early attention was called to Annanese affairs. He appointed General Ma Shêng, the Duke of Ch'ien, commander-in-chief of the Yun-nan forces and gave him instructions to protect that wealthy province from invasion by the Annanese, who had again risen in arms with the cry of An-nan for the Annanese. The invasion of An-nan was decided upon. Policy was first tried, offers of official position and emolument being made to the rebel chieftains, but this failed, and the Chinese troops, on taking the initiative were sorely defeated by Li Li, who had issued from exile to head the movement of his countrymen. The Chinese commander was obliged to sign a treaty with Li Li by which a large portion of the loyal districts were ceded to Li Li, and so lost to China.

When this reverse became known the veteran Mu Shêng was ordered to invade An-nan and lead his Yun-nan warriors to the aid of his defeated countrymen, who, shut up in Chiao-chih city, were glad to treat with victorious Li Li, who for two years had been steadily driving the Chinese from An-nan. But the reinforcements

turned the tide, and battle after battle was fought until the troops of Li Li were driven to the famous mountain pass of Chên-I-Kuan. But at this place the haughty imperial commander, Liu-Shêng came to an untimely end. Whilst crossing a bridge with a large party of cavalry the bridge gave way, and he, with many of the soldiers with him, was drowned in a raging mountain torrent in full sight of his own camp. This incident cast a cloud of gloom over the Chinese troops, and they withdrew from their position. They were followed by the Annanese, who advanced to give them battle. The army of Li Li had a squadron of elephants which spread dismay and confusion in the Chinese ranks. The Imperial troops were routed with great slaughter and the leading officers with all the baggage fell into the hands of the Annanese. The officers were executed, and in the pursuit which followed the battle, the invading army was annihilated by the foe it had despised.

CHAPTER XV.

Wan Tung's truce with Li Li—Autonomy again granted to Annan—Ha-noi made the capital city—The house of Li—Usurpation of the Yüan family 1508—Restoration of the house of Li—Revolutions—Peng Yung's expedition 1522—Conspiracy against King 'Hui—Murder of King Kuang—Tribute again sent to China.

After the decisive defeat of the one army of relief and the repulse of the other by the Tungkingese, Wan Tung again made overtures to Li Li. They concluded a truce during which the two opposing commanders prepared a joint memorial to the emperor, in which they asked that a descendant of the Chên family, one Chên Jih-kao, who was living in the Lao Kuo country, might be installed as An-nan Kuo Wang, and that autonomy might again be granted to An-nan. The emperor was pleased to grant the prayer of Li Li, and all Chinese officials, civil, military, and naval, were ordered to immediately leave An-nan and report themselves for duty in

the several places from which they had been drafted for foreign duty.

Soon after this, in 1429, King Chên Jih-kao died, and by the unanimous request of the people, Li Li was elevated to the kingship. He immediately sent tribute to China, and among the many precious articles was a large golden statue of himself, which he sent as his proxy. In 1431, the emperor created Li Li Ch'üan Shu An-nan Kuo Shih, or Viceroy of An-nan, giving him authority to act in every way as dictator of that state.

Li Li established his court at Ha-noi, or Ho-nei, and called it Tung Tu, or Tungking, which means the Eastern Capital, and then for the easier administration of his dominions he divided An-nan into thirteen T'ao or provinces. During his reign was inaugurated in An-nan the Chinese system of competitive examinations for all official posts. Not content with the extent of his dominions and desirous of a scientific frontier he absorbed that part of the Chinese province of Yün-nan known as the department of Ning-yüan Chou. After a short reign, pregnant with well-conceived and carefully executed schemes, the old warrior, king without a crown, died in 1433,

leaving the country for which he had fought so nobly and achieved so much, to the care of his son, Li Lin. In 1436, the emperor conferred on the son the title and crown which had been denied to the father. In 1442, Li Lin died and was succeeded by his son Li Chün, who asked the Emperor of China to invest him with a crown and robe of state, and grant him privileges similar to those enjoyed by the tributary king of Chao-hsien or Corea. The crown for which king Li-chün asked, was usually made of gold, highly wrought and decorated with eighteen long strings of pearls, nine to hang over the face and nine to cover the back of the head and neck. The robe of state was of silk richly ornamented with dragons embroidered in gold thread. But the king of An-nan's request was not granted. In 1459, Li Chün was murdered by his half brother, who usurped the throne, but the people, indignant at the cruel murder of their monarch, rose in arms, drove the murderer from the throne, and executed him. For some years king peacefully succeeded king, until about 1507, king Li-chün or I-chün ascended the throne. The queen was a member of the imperious and ambitious Yüan family, and in a few years we find the king

deposed, forced to commit suicide, and the tyrannical house of Yüan reigning instead. But their power was of short duration. The people again asserted themselves, rose in arms, and exterminated the hated house of Yuan, raising to the throne Li Chou, a member of the Li or Iˊ family.

In 1516, the chief director of ceremonies in the royal chapel formed a conspiracy against the king's life. After murdering the king, the chief conspirator declared himself the legitimate descendant of a former king, and usurped the throne. But a Cantonese gentleman who sojourned in Tungking, roused the people, and forced the usurper to flee to the northern portion of his kingdom, where he was content to rule over the three provinces of Tai-yüan, Chüng-tu, and Chang-chˊing. This spirited Chinese immigrant raised a son of the murdered king to the throne. For his loyalty he was made an earl and given supreme command of the navy of An-nan. Two years later, in 1518, we find that this same man, whose name was Têng-yung, crushed the rebellion of Chêng Sui and slew a pretender to the throne. With the influence he gained by his energy he virtually reigned over An-nan, especially after his marriage with the queen of the

late king. In 1522, he determined to subdue the three provinces over which Ch'en Kao, the usurper, was ruling. After completely routing him, he forced him to flee, and the miserable traitor died of starvation in the land over which he had once reigned. Having thus united An-nan under one rule, this ambitious Chinaman endeavoured to effect the death of King 'Huei, but the latter was warned in time by his mother and fled for safety to Ching-'hua. After the flight of King 'Huei, a half brother of his, named Kuang, ascended the throne. Not content with having made his own puppet king, he determined on reigning himself, and accordingly had himself proclaimed Emperor of An-nan. In 1530, he abdicated in favour of his son Tang-ying, but although living in retirement he carefully watched the course of events and guarded his son's interests most jealously. Early in this year the royal exile Li 'Huei died, and was succeeded in his pretensions to the throne by his son Ning. This new claimant was soon defeated by Têng Yung but his place was immediately taken by a younger brother, so that the house of Li still remained as a thorn to the Cantonese usurper. In 1536, the royal exiles sent a mission to China with tribute. Their envoys

were to seek redress for King Ning and the punishment of Têng Yung. The result was an imperial edict ordering the two Kwang provinces together with Yün-nan to mobilise their troops and invade An-nan for the purpose of restoring order.

CHAPTER XVI.

Mo Têng-yung petitions the emperor—Fu-'hai succeeds to the throne—Mo Têng-yung surrenders himself to the imperial commander—Intermarriage of the houses of Mo and Yûan—Fall of an ærolite in 1547—The Mo brothers flee to China—Wei-t'an overturns the house of Mo—Appeals to the people and to China—The advent of the Ta-tsing dynasty in China—Investiture of the King of An-nan—Family feuds and struggles for supremacy—Capture of the crown jewels—Ha-noi.

In 1538, the Ti T'ai of the two Kwang provinces began his preparations for the invasion of An-nan on a gigantic scale. He raised an army of 300,000 men, and requisitioned for a monthly allowance of seven hundred and thirty thousand taels of silver, an annual supply of a million and half piculs of rice (about ninety thousand tons), and an immense quantity of military stores of all kinds. Mo Tang-ying, hearing of these mighty preparations, petitioned the emperor, but before any answer could reach him he died. Mo Têng-yung immediately placed his grandson Fu-'hai on the throne left vacant by his son's

death. The imperial commander appointed to take charge of the expedition, immediately on his arrival at Canton caused proclamations to be circulated through An-nan, stating the nature of the preparations made for invasion, the futility of resisting his skill and the might of his battalions, and calling on the people to submit to the inevitable. After sailing along the West River as far as Nan-ning-fu where he established his headquarters, he was suddenly recalled to Peking. Mo Têng-yung took the respite thus granted him and sent his nephew to the imperial court with a despatch announcing his surrender to the imperial commander-in-chief. After this he caused his servants to bind him in token of submission, and in that guise proceeded to the headquarters and gave himself up to the Chinese army. On receiving his memorial the imperial court ordered Mo Têng-yung to return the gold and silver royal seal of An-nan to the emperor. He obeyed promptly, and was rewarded by a full pardon and his appointment as Viceroy of An-nan. Mo Têng-yung died in 1542, and his grandson, Mo Fu-'hai, who succeeded him, was confirmed in his position by the imperial government. Some years before his death, Mo Têng-yung had adopted a young lad of

the Yüan family as his son. This act, simple in itself, was destined to produce great changes in An-nan. This adopted son, Yüan-ching, was the paramour of Mo Têng-yung's widow, through whom he exercised great influence in the affairs of the country. He succeeded in marrying his youngest daughter to a young grandson of his adopted father, and having thus strengthened his power, he let his ambition lead him withersoever it would. In 1546, Mo-Fu'hai died, and was succeeded by his infant son 'Hung-yi, under the regency of Yüan-ching. The crafty regent gradually deprived of power all those who could in any way withstand his schemes, and after vainly endeavouring to capture the two brothers of Mo Têng-yung who fled for safety to China, he imprisoned the boy king and seated himself on the vacant throne. But the stars in their courses fought against him. In 1547, a large mass of meteoric stone fell in the province of Kwang Tung, and the shock of its striking the ground caused it to break in two. This phenomenon was duly reported at court, and at the request of his imperial majesty the wise men consulted as to the meaning of this portent. They arrived at the conclusion that the breaking asunder of the

ærolite portended a sudden rupture of some one of the tributary states of China. Just at this juncture the Mo brothers, with their friends and retainers, arrived at Ch'iu Chou. They memorialized the emperor, and were kept by his bounty, whilst an expedition was raised to reinstate them in An-nan. In the next year several Annanese nobles came to China, saying that they wished to conduct the brothers Mo back to their inheritance; but they were suspected of foul play and ordered to quit the country. Immediately after this the country of An-nan was invaded, and the Annanese army was routed with great slaughter. In the next year, 1549, the youthful king 'Hung-I made good his escape, and appeared in the field at the head of some loyal troops against the rebellious Annanese, and defeated them so completely that the power of the rebels was gone for ever. After these successes the young king was for some years allowed to reign in peace. In 1597, however, a descendant of the Li family, Wei-t'an by name, overthrew the Mo family and usurped the throne. The Mo family then appealed to the imperial court, who listened favourably to them; but in the meantime the wily Wei-t'an appealed to the Annanese people, who

unanimously declared themselves in his favour. The Chinese government thereupon recognised Wei-a'an, but stipulated that Mo 'Hung-yi should be granted the province of Kao-p'ing so that he might rule there undisturbed. In the year 1659, the successor of Wei-t'an sent envoys to Yün-nan to ascertain what changes had taken place in the great Chinese Empire. They brought back the news of the close of the Ming and the foundation of the Ta-tsing or Manchu dynasty. In 1666 the king of An-nan sent envoys to China, bearing the Great Seal which the Uing emperor had bestowed on the Annanese kings. In the following year the emperor Kang-hsi was graciously pleased to invest Li Wei-hsi as king of An-nan. The first act of the newly-made king was to wage war against the Mo family and force them to flee with about three thousand retainers to Yün-nan. The emperor directed the king of An-nan to restore their little dominions to them, but in 1674, the Mo family were effectually crushed, and Kao-p'ing province reannexed to An-nan. For the next hundred and twelve years the country was torn and distracted by the struggles of the powerful Chên and Yüan families for supremacy; but in 1787, the king Li forced a peace by giving his

daughter in marriage to one of the sons of the house of Yüan, who had, after a century of warfare, proved themselves the slightly stronger party. After the death of this monarch his son-in-law, Yüan 'Hui, seized the state jewels, looted the capital, and carried off his booty by means of elephants to his stronghold in Kwang-nan. On his way thither, however, fifty of his elephants were captured by some of the adherents of the Li family. After this successful robbery the Yüan family again took the field and captured Ha-noi. The king was invited to again assume royal power, but on his refusal the city was again looted by Yüan 'Hui, who carried off a second time all the royal treasures, and in addition all the beauties of the royal harem, whom he transported by ship, leaving a powerful garrison in Ha-noi to guard his interests. The remnant of the royal family fled to China, and were allowed to settle in Nan-ning-fu, whilst active preparations were made for an expedition to enter An-nan and reinstate them in royal power.

CHAPTER XVII.

Invasion of Tungking—Success of the Imperial troops—Li Wei-chi invested with the kingship—Récall and defeat of the Imperial troops—Yüan-kuang-ping recognized as king of An-nan—His reception at Peking in 1790—Disturbances after his death—Yüan Fu-ying's success—He is invested as Yüeh-nan Kuo Wang—Tribute to China—Kang-hsi's dictionary—In 1848, a Chinese resident appointed to An-nan—Revolts in Tungking.

Upon receipt of the imperial despatch in Kwang Tung the viceroy of the two Kwang provinces sent despatches to An-nan exhorting the people to be peaceable, and then sent to Nang-ning-fu for Li Wei-chi, a scion of the royal house of Li, whom he proposed to establish as king of An-nan. An-nan was invaded by the Chinese, and for some time the emperor's troops had everything their own way. Success followed success, and, although no important battle was fought, the Tungkingese were speedily driven back, until the imperialist quietly occupied the city of Tungking or modern Ha-noi. The court of Peking was

highly gratified with the brilliant success of the expedition and ordered the Board of Rites to take the necessary steps to invest Li Wei-chi as king of An-nan. After his investiture, the new monarch notified his suzerain of his desire to visit the imperial court, but was wisely advised to remain in his own land, and give his best attention to the consolidation of his country and the establishment of his power. At the same time, he was informed that when he had secured order and tranquillity in his dominions, so that everything would work smoothly during his absence, he might come to Peking and have an audience with the Emperor.

Shortly after this the Emperor ordered the recall of the Chinese troops, but the officers in command saw fit to disregard the imperial mandate. This disobedience led to serious consequences. The Imperial troops flushed with their easy success, became careless and neglectful, discipline was relaxed, and military strictness gave place to ease, luxury, and debauchery. No one took notice or heed of the cloud on the political horizon, till it burst in all its fury. The Tungkingese, who had fled before the Chinese troops, slowly gathered round their chief, Yüan

Hu, who drilled them carefully, and, noting the carelessness of his opponents, made active preparations for meeting them in the field. On the New Year, when the Chinese were enjoying with childish glee, the usual festivities of such an occasion, Yüan 'Hu, choosing a dark night for his enterprise, suddenly attacked the unsuspicious and careless foe in their camp, and utterly routed them. The self-confident Chinese General fled in dismay, and after crossing the river destroyed the bridge. His unfortunate troops thus caught in a trap were slaughtered unmercifully by their pursuers.

The victorious Yuan 'Hu then looked about him for an ally against China, and entered into a treaty with the neighbouring state of Siam. After thus securing himself to some extent, he changed his name to Yuan-kuang-ping, and ascended the throne left vacant by the fugitive Li Wei-chi. He then despatched envoys to the Imperial Court, at the same time acknowledging his faults, and, by an offer of tribute, tendering his submission to the emperor. The court of Peking regarded the sudden reverse which had befallen the imperial arms as direct testimony of the desire of Heaven that the Li dynasty should give place to the Yuan, and accordingly recognized the new monarch.

In 1790, king Yuan-kuang-ping visited Peking, where, after doing homage to the emperor, he was feasted and entertained, and on leaving was presented with many marks of his imperial suzerain's favour. Two years after his return to An-nan he died, and was succeeded in 1792, by his son Yuan Kuang-tsuan, a youth of fifteen years.

The accession of a minor was the signal for the outbreak of strife. Yüan-yo, a relative of the young king, was put forward as a claimant to the throne on the grounds of his loyal support of the late royal family of Li. He is said to have been supported by a band of barbarian pirates, probably the French and Spaniards, who assisted him to gain the throne. The youthful king appealed to China for aid to maintain his tottering throne, and called the attention of the Chinese officials to the ravages the pirate fleet committed. The only result was that the emperor ordered his officials to keep a sharper watch over these hostile vessels and to defend the coast of China by a powerful fleet. Another claimant was Yuan Fu-ying, who was living at the Siamese court in great splendour as the honoured guest and son-in-law of the Siamese king, who had given him his favourite daughter in marriage. Yuan Fu-ying proved successful and

soon occupied the present capital city of Fu Ch'un or Hué.

In 1799, the emperor ordered the officials of the two Kwang provinces to abstain from interfering in An-nan, as the Yuan family had proved themselves totally unworthy of the protection of China by neglecting their duty as rulers in harbouring pirates and outlaws. At the same time it was notified that when Yuan Fu-ying had proved himself a fit and capable king, the emperor would be pleased to recognize him as king of An-nan.

I strongly suspect that this cautiousness was partly the result of the employment by the Tungkingese king of several French military officers. These foreign soldiers materially assisted king Yuan Fu-ying in establishing his rule over the whole of An-nan, and rendered him great service by fortifying the more important towns.

In 1802, king Yuan Fu-ying having firmly established his power sought to renew relations with China, and sent envoys bearing tribute to the imperial court. He also asked that the kingdom of An-nan might be called by its ancient name of Yueh-nan. His overtures were well received, and

he was rewarded by being invested as Yueh-nan Kuo Wang, so that An-nan again became a tributary of China by the desire of the country itself, and without any compulsion from the Ta-tsing dynasty, who indeed had shewn themselves loath to undertake the duties of suzerain towards such a turbulent State.

Without China's support An-nan feels much like a child suddenly cut adrift from its parents. This is but natural, as the Annanese are in many essential points Chinese. Their language, their superstitions, their education, their government, their manners and customs, their traditions, their prejudices and their religion, are virtually those of China; and although French missionaries, those insidious foes to peace in semi-civilized states, have been trying for several centuries to destroy or counteract Chinese influence under the cover of preaching Christianity, they have not succeeded, the deep schemes of Jesuits and others for acquiring temporal power in An-nan having utterly failed. It seems as if in these days it were necessary to support priests and priest-craft, and the religion of love which they profess to teach, by means of modern artillery, for if we may believe the utterance of a cynical French

statesman this present war against An-nan was undertaken by France in the interests of the Christian religion.

After a glorious reign of nearly a score of years king Yuan Fu-ying died, leaving a well-organized kingdom to his son Yuan Fu-nuan. The new king commenced his reign by swearing fealty to China, and seeking the usual investiture from the emperor. The envoys brought back to their royal master copies of Kang-hsi's great dictionary, which was adopted as the standard of language in An-nan.

King Yuan Fu-nuan did not continue to support the French officers and missionaries. The former were dismissed, and persecution falling on the missionaries and their proselytes, things in An-nan resumed their old way: idolatry, superstition, and exclusiveness were again uppermost. After a reign of twenty-five years, the king died, and was succeeded by his son king Yuan Fu-mien, who reigned for seven years and a half. This latter king was succeeded in 1848, by king Yuan Fu-shih, who sent tribute to China, and not only asked for investiture, but begged the emperor Tao Kuang to send him a Chinese protector. This was done, and the imperial government, fearing foreign

intrigue and disturbance, advised the government of An-nan to make Fu Ch'un the permanent capital.

The Protector of An-nan was his Excellency Lao Ch'ung-kuang, who after leaving the Annanese Court became Governor-General of Yun-nan and Kwei-chou. He died in 1866, whilst holding the latter important office.

In 1867, An-nan was invaded by bands of Chinese rebels, called T'u-fei, who came from Kuang-si. The king appealed to China for aid to expel the marauders, and the Chinese Government directed Fêng Tzŭ-ts'ai, Ti-t'ai of Kwang-Si, to proceed to Yüeh-nan and quell the rebels. On the arrival of the Chinese troops, the rebels were allowed to tender their submission, and most of them did so, but one of their chieftains, Ñiang T'ien-hsi, treacherously slew a battalion of imperial troops, whose guests he and his companions were. He then joined another rebel chief named 'Huang Ch'ung-ying, who had his headquarters at 'Ho-yang. The united band levied black-mail, and were for some time the terror of all traders to or from Yün-nan and Kwang-Si.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Chinese rebels in Tungking—They become the Black Flags—Arrival of French warships at Ha-noi—The king of An-nan implores aid from China—The French in Tungking—The Black Flag co-operate with the Annanese—Garnier is slain—Black Flags subsidized by An-nan—'Huang Ch'ung-ying is captured and beheaded—Settlement of the Black Flags at Lao-kai.

In 1870, Li Yung-fu, chief of the Black Flags occupied the town of Pao-shêng in Lao-kai. His band of marauders with several others were originally a band of outlaws from Kwang-Si, but more will be said about them in another place. This noted leader tendered his submission to the Chinese Government, as did also another chief, one Têng Chih-hsiung. For some time negotiations went on smoothly, but as 'Huang Ch'ung-ying, chief of the Yellow Flags, continued to openly defy the imperial authority, the negotiations were abruptly broken off. The Chinese troops withdrew, and the various bands were left entirely free from molestation. Having success-

fully defied the imperial as well as the Annanese authorities, they were soon reinforced by another body of Kwang-Si outlaws.

In 1871, a determined attempt to subdue these troublesome freebooters was made by the Chinese and Annanese troops under the General Fêng. Negotiations were opened, and the aid of the magistrate of Ch'in Chou was asked to mediate. One of the chiefs, Su Kuo-'han, trusting fair promises of life and safety, surrendered himself. He was taken to Canton, and there decapitated by order of the Governor-General of the two Kwang provinces.

Shortly after this in 1872, an army corps of observation, formed of Kwang-Si troops, was stationed on the Chinese frontier of Tungking to meet a threatened danger from outside. The strategic points of Tungking were, however, not occupied by the troops of the suzerain State. If this had been done, and Tungking thrown open to commerce as Corea has been, the Franco-Chinese difficulty would have been nipped in the bud, and the prosperity of Tungking and south-western China greatly increased. France would not have engaged in its rash filibustering expedition to An-nan, and would not have encountered

the shame and humiliation they have done by their policy of shilly-shally in carrying on the war.

In 1873, An-nan appealed to the suzerain State for protection from the French ships of war, which the Government of An-nan declared had been admitted to the interior of An-nan by the Chinese General, Chên Tê-kuei. This official was immediately recalled and severely punished for his indiscretion in thus allowing Dupuis to reach Ha-noi. This gentleman was proceeding to Yun-nan with arms, ammunition, drill instructors and artificers for the Chinese, and was therefore entitled to the protection of the tributary state. An act of stupid jealousy on the part of a high official gave France what it deemed sufficient ground for interfering.

On the first appearance of trouble one of the earliest steps taken by the Chinese and Annanese governments was to engage the services of Liu Yung-fu, the Black Flag leader, who was given official rank in the Chinese army. His followers attacked Ha-noi but were repulsed and drew off. The French troops gave chase, but were cut down by men lying in ambush in the bamboo groves outside the city. Garnier and many of his men

were slain, and after the custom of the country their heads were cut from their bodies, and carried away as trophies. Ha-noi was evacuated by the French.

For this success Liu Yung-fu was created San Shêng Fu Ti-tu, or Deputy-Commandant of three Provinces, and was allotted the district of Lao Kai. He was thus given territory, and acknowledged by the court of An-nan as a loyal border chieftain and duly authorised officer of their army. He was allowed rations and pay for 1800 retainers during times of peace, and granted the privileges of a powerful and friendly border chief.

On the other hand 'Huang Ch'ung-ying who had assisted the French, was captured and executed for his treachery. By these successes the magnificent achievements of a handful of French adventurers and officers were annihilated in a few hours, and Tungking, of which the French had possessed the fairest provinces, passed again under the (by the French) abhorred yoke of Hué.* With the death of Garnier, who had been the soul of the entire movement, the hope for the success of the plans of the French in Tung-

* M. de Caillaud.

king failed, for he alone understood them, and had the tact, ability and energy to carry them out. M. Philastre concluded the treaty of Saigon on March 5th, 1874, the court of An-nan being brought to agree to the terms, by an insurrection of the people, in favour of the Li family. This insurrection was undoubtedly stirred up by the French missionaries, who saw in the restoration of the Li dynasty a chance of insuring the success of French plans for aggrandisement and the triumph of their form of Christianity. This treaty recognised the protectoral rights of France and the complete independence of Tungking, although the latter state bound itself to follow the foreign policy of France, but it must be remembered that this treaty was obtained from the embarrassment of the king of Tungking and from the ignorance of the Annanese ambassadors as to its significance. There is not the shadow of a doubt in the light of history, that from remote times the dependence of An-nan on China is a fact, claimed at Peking and admitted by the Annanese, and therefore the Chinese Government have an undoubted right to be consulted in all questions affecting the political status of Tungking. But France did not consult China, who has preserved for more than

thirty centuries with the most careful exactitude her rights as Suzerain, but kept the treaty of Saigon secret from the Chinese government for over a year. This closed the first act of the Tungking drama. The second act is still in progress.

CHAPTER XIX.

Official position of the Black Flag leader—The Black Flags at Lao Kai—Their Revenue derived from official subsidies, dues levied on all merchandise, and gambling—Precautions against poison—Penalty for fire—French interference in Tungking—China and the Black Flags—Possibility of China effectually resisting France.

We saw in the last chapter how the renowned leader of the Black Flags became a loyal supporter of An-nan, recognised by the government of that country, and given an official position in the army with a subsidy and rations for his retainers. The amount of the subsidy was 1,200 cash, and 30 catties of rice a month for each man of the Black Flag force. For married warriors the pay and rations were doubled.

Among the Black Flags the old men and boys have to attend to the cultivation of the land at Lao Kai, the young men hunt in the woods and forests, and the women keep house and do all the trading whilst the able-bodied men are doing duty

as soldiers. The hunters bring in musk, deer horns in the velvet, deer sinews, rhinoceros horns and hides, and elephants tusks. Most of these articles are sold to the Cantonese traders who frequent the region. The warriors are divided into battalions and companies called, Yin and Tui, who do duty in succession for a certain number of days monthly.

These hardy mountaineer warriors have fortified their town of Pao-shêng and built a strong citadel with massive concrete walls. This town stands at the junction of the An-hsi and Red rivers on the Tungking side of the former stream. The An-hsi river is the old boundary between Annanese territory and the Chinese province of Yun-nan, and it is from this circumstance that the district derives its name of Lao Kai or the ancient boundary. Inside the citadel is the residence of Liu Yung-fu. Here he lives with his family and about two hundred picked warriors who form his personal body-guard.

In addition to this several wealthy Cantonese traders are granted the privilege of living in the security of the citadel. These favoured few probably enjoy the monopoly of importing cotton, salt, tobacco, etc., and of exporting opium, copper,

tin, etc. In these articles a considerable and lucrative trade is done, from which the Black Flag leader derives an annual income of about 80,000 taels of silver. The gambling is the direct monopoly of Liu Yung-fu. There are more than a hundred tables daily set out on the banks of the river where the fortunate hunter, successful trader and reckless soldier can indulge the national craving for gambling and excitement in some of their numerous games of chance.

Food of all kinds is cheap and abundant at Lao Kai, but the water supply is a matter which receives the special attention of the Black Flags, as they think that on its purity depends their safety from their most dreaded foe, poison. Their water supply is derived from a fine spring which bursts forth on a hillside some few hundred yards from the town, and the water is conducted into the town by means of bamboo pipes. The spring is hidden from the view by a thick fence of bamboos. A dense grove of these trees is carefully trained so as to make a practically impassable barrier through which no foe can stealthily penetrate, and by poisoning the water at its source send destruction and death amongst them.

A guard of twenty warriors is always on duty in this grove as an additional precaution.

The houses outside the citadel are built mainly of wood, and were often destroyed by fire so that Liu Yung-fu has issued a decree that the people in the house at the time when it catches fire, are to be beheaded.

The animosity of the Annanese to the French is not much to be wondered at considering the treatment they have received, but the protracted struggle that has been going on for long months is quite as much due to the action of China as to the Tungkingese themselves. China has not only spurred An-nan on, but has, in addition to direct orders to the tributary State to fight, given substantial aid in money, supplies, munitions of war, and men. The fight is in reality being fought by China, who deems it wise to confine the war as far as possible to Tungking and treat it as a purely local disturbance, although it by no means follows that the war will not be conducted with spirit. China, and An-nan also, is well aware of the unblushingly piratical nature of the French attempts in Tunis and Madagascar, and is determined not to have France as a powerful and hostile State on the very borders of her

wealthiest provinces. The Chinese believe that the French desire Tungking as the possible means of obtaining Yun-nan, and perhaps other provinces, and fight accordingly not only for their Suzerain rights but for the maintenance of their territorial integrity which is menaced by France. As a direct and powerful means of warding off the danger to a large extent, China has exercised her incontestable right and entered into a compact with her formerly outlawed subjects, the Black Flags.

These Black Flags were not the Tai-ping rebels but bands of outlaws such as existed at one time in "Merrie" England. They left Kwang-Si their native home and went into the well wooded mountainous districts of An-nan. With these, her own outlawed subjects, China has entered into an agreement, has in fact enrolled them as a portion of her territorial army, told off for the special and highly honourable duty of assisting a dependent State and protecting the boundary of their fatherland.

Liu Yung-fu, whom the French pretend to regard as a puerile foe and a rebel, has been granted the brevet rank of Major-General in the Imperial Chinese army. He and his men are well supplied by the Chinese with modern

artillery, good rifles, together with weapons and war material of all kinds. In addition to this, he receives from the Imperial Treasury a subsidy of twenty thousand silver taels monthly so that he may keep a permanent army of four thousand men on a war footing.

Thus he and his men are not outlaws or rebels, but the recognized subjects of China, and nothing but the ridiculous irritability of the French at the prolonged resistance they have met will account for their persistent attempt to speak of their hardy opponents as rebels, while nothing will excuse their criminal blundering in announcing that they will give no quarter and take no prisoners if victorious. The Turks had more right to call the noble race of mighty Montenegrin mountaineers rebels and traitors than the French to speak in such a way of the Tungkingese.

The only foes that the French have so far met are the Chinese Black Flags aided by a few Tungkingese. There is not a single foreign Chinese officer at the seat of war, notwithstanding French assertions to the contrary. France is fighting against unaided China, and has still to count upon a yet more effective

resistance when the Chinese and Annanese shall be led and disciplined by the foreign officers in the Chinese military service. How formidable China would then be with well-drilled troops, following, and guided by, trusted European officers, Colonel Gordon, who is remarkable for the naked truthfulness of his statement, has already told the world through a telegram to the New York Herald. France, if successful, will only stir up a powerful and quietly inveterate enemy, who will spare no exertion till she has put herself in a position to retaliate. Long years may roll by, but the hatred will not die out till China again holds all the land formerly hers which the French have already taken or may in the future annex. The French do not forget the war of 1870, and hope more enthusiastically than ever to recover Alsace and Lorraine. The thirteen years of uneasy restless peace which have rolled by have been almost entirely devoted by the French people to preparation for a long and deadly struggle. Time has only acted as fuel to the anti-Prussian rage, and the fire of hatred burns to-day more fiercely than ever. As in France, so will it be in China.

CHAPTER XX.

Mineral wealth of Tungking—Duties—Chinese mining industries at stake—The trade of Tungking—Produce of Tungking—Resources of the population—Prospects of trade under the French—French dreams of prosperity not likely to be realised.

THE Chinese have long known of the enormous mineral wealth of Tungking. That country is the centre of vast deposits of coal in addition to which the ordinary as well as the precious metals are there abundant. I know of no less than seventeen districts in which there are flourishing gold fields. Silver and copper mining occupy a great deal of native and Chinese labour. The Chinese are the proprietors of most of the larger and more productive mines, but the output of metal by mines surreptitiously worked in order to avoid the payment of the usual royalties is very considerable. In the T'ai-yuan province there are four gold fields and five silver mines; in the Liang-shan province, two gold fields; in the Pei-ning or Bac-ninh province, one gold field

and two large districts rich with all kinds of metalliferous deposits; in the Hsing-'hua province there are two well worked auriferous tracts and two large copper mines, whilst in the Hsüan-kuang province there are no less than four large gold fields, two important silver workings and one copper mine.

As all these mines pay a substantial royalty, calculated on the output to the Annanese Government, and in addition to the heavy squeezes paid to the local provincial officials, yield good returns to the Chinese capitalists who own and work them, they would appear to be in a flourishing condition. Nearly the whole of these well known mineral deposits are worked by purely Chinese companies, most of the shareholders being Cantonese, many of whom realise handsome fortunes from their mining speculation. In view of these facts it can only be surmised what European engineering skill and commercial enterprise would do for the development of the mineral wealth of the country. Most of the men employed in the mines are Kwang-Si miners who of course can only work in their own primitive way, which reminds one of a hen scratching up the surface of the ground.

As in the mining industry so it is in trade. The Chinese with their usual energy, enterprise, and well-known trading proclivities have succeeded in almost entirely monopolizing the trade and commerce of Tungking. Next to England and the port of Hongkong, the enterprising Chinese who occupy the high trading position among the nations of the East which the English do among those of the West, hold, and as far as one can foresee, will retain the greatest interest in the trade of Tungking. The Chinese concerned are principally the astute traders of Kwang-Tung and Fu Kien, and nothing that the French can do even if they succeed in their rash enterprise will alienate the trade and cause it to run in French channels. French success can only benefit the trade, industries and manufactures of England and China, for Hongkong will be in that case more than ever the pivot on which the whole of the trade of Tungking will turn.

The principal imports are cotton cloths, salt, tobacco, dried fish, crockery, hardware, and manufactured goods generally; whilst the chief exports are opium, rice, copper, tin, the edible lily, dried fungi, etc., etc. In addition to these there are the natural productions of Tungking,

the most important of which, from an export point of view, is the timber of the gigantic teak which grows luxuriantly in the virgin forests on the slopes of the mountain ranges near the Yünnan border. Timber indeed is a very important item of trade, including as it does the durable teak, first-class pine, which is largely used for coffin wood by the Chinese, the various hard woods used in making furniture, the purely ornamental woods, and several species of fragrant wood. Many valuable drugs are exported, of which the most noteworthy is the wood and bark of the cinnamon or cassia trees. The cinnamon which comes from Tungking the Chinese consider the finest in the world. The tusks, horns, bones, hides, and sinews of elephants, rhinoceroses and deer, are also in great demand for medicinal purposes, especially deer horns still covered with their natural velvet, which are very highly prized by debilitated Chinese gentlemen. Honey is sent in considerable quantities to the provinces of Kwang-Tung and Kwang-Si, whilst a very large trade item is included under the head of various reptiles, principally snakes, which are credited with powerful medicinal properties.

If the French are successful in their enterprise,

or keep up the disturbance in An-nan, the vast bulk of trade from Yun-nan which finds an outlet by Manhao down the Red River will follow, as it did in the past and recently has again commenced to do, the course of the mighty West River through Kwang-Si and Kwang-Tung to Canton or Pak-hoi. This would also be the result if the French resorted to a protective tariff in their desire to keep the trade in their own hands. Chinese are the quickest people in the world to find out a cheap route, and immediately that is done trade is deflected from its natural or usual channel. So true is this, that a slight difference in the blackmail levied by the mandarins of a district has been known to suddenly take all the trade from one route to another, hundreds of miles away. Supposing France to be successful, China, eager to damage French trade, would in all probability be found quite willing to allow the steamers of other nations to navigate the Kwang-Tung rivers as far as Peh Seh. Such action, together with the removal of all extortionate or vexatious dues on merchandise, would make the great river system of Kwang-Tung the great commercial highway of all trade from or into Central and Eastern Yun-nan, Kwei-chou,

Tungking and Kwang-Si. If therefore the French dream that their ultimate success, which is very problematical, will give them an immense and wealthy colony which will greatly increase their commercial prosperity, their undertaking is likely to be utterly chimerical, and Tungking will prove to be but an apple of Sodom, for if trade is not violently interfered with, it will, if the French afford even moderate facilities for its development, remain in the hands of the Chinese and English manufacturers and merchants who at present control it. Nothing can wrench it from their firm grasp, and any attempt to introduce a protective tariff would reduce what might be a self-paying colony to complete dependence on France, if not to the verge of bankruptcy, without doing much harm to England or China. Trade would be completely diverted from the Song Koi to the Sikiang, but would not change hands.

But the French have very many difficulties and obstacles to overcome before they can see even remotely, the glimpses of ultimate success in their attempted annexation of Tungking. They are at present fighting in Tungking nominally against the Annanese, who detest them for their false

promises at the time of the Li insurrection, and believe in nothing but French callousness, greed, and rapacity, but in reality against An-nan aided by China. Very different will affairs be when the Dragon throne tired of, or compelled to forego the temporising policy and diplomatic tactics of her greatest statesman, shall openly come to the aid of her distressed tributary, and prove that China is, actively as well as passively, implacably hostile to the pretensions of any Power which, by ignoring the indisputable rights of the Suzerain State in seeking self-aggrandisement at the expense of China's tributary, Tungking, has deliberately insulted those proud claims of the Dragon throne of which not one jot or tittle was abated during the most terrific and threatening period of the history of the middle kingdom, to wit, the time of the Tai-ping rebellion.

The practical, political or other advantage to be gained by this or that course of action will not lure China from the enterprise, however dangerous, and nothing will cause her to swerve from the line of action which iron precedent, obvious duty, political pretensions, the maintenanse of her majesty and power, fidelity to the venerated past, territorial integrity, national fame, historical

continuity, fixity of purpose, which with the lofty traditional pride of the oldest civilized government the sun shines on, and the supplications of a distressed ally, alike demand of her. When France has decided on a definite course of action, and is supported in it by the French people, then will come the crucial time. France will find that she will have to spend treasure and men freely in the vain hope of founding a great Oriental Empire, a scheme which will sooner or later prove to be not only unattainable but a costly impossibility. Interference by the French in Tungking means not only implacable hatred, but sooner or later open hostilities with a practically resistless enemy. For every man France can afford to lose China can lose a thousand, whilst her command of treasure is, like her levies, practically inexhaustible. Very different is the case with France. She, fighting native levies aided by Chinese, has as yet shown no capacity for overcoming even local difficulties. Lacking decision, wanting promptitude and exhibiting no power of resource, it is by no means certain that even with their much talked of reinforcements the French will be able to successfully crush and stamp out the resistance they are receiving from the Tungkingese, although so many

advantages have been and are in their favour. When China declares her course of action and French troops have to advance into a hostile country, and to face a Chinese army, their serious troubles will commence, for the farther they have to remove their base of operations from the sea the more insuperable will their difficulties become. Even in the event of complete success France must remember that she will have for years to maintain a large European army in an unhealthy climate, as she will want not only a large body of troops for any emergency that may arise, but will require strong garrisons for every town she takes and desires to hold. French power will cease where the French rifle bullet ceases to harm or the French artillery be heard. Their Government must perforce be the government of the sword. Obtained and kept by unrighteous force, the revenues of the colony will be spent in military occupation, and the commercial prosperity of Tungking will perish under the necessity of maintaining an immense military force.

CHAPTER XXI.

Some acccount of the Black Flags—Conclusion.

The renowned leader of the Black Flags was born in 1836, at Shang-ssŭ, Chou in the South West of Kwang-Si. He has a smooth beardless face, which makes him look much younger than he is. Liu Erh, or Liu Yung-fu as he is officially called, is, as we have seen, an Annanese official of high rank, in addition to being a Chinese military official in command on the Yun-nan frontier. This man, who by his defence of Tungking has made the name of himself and his band famous, has but one wife, the daughter of a famous and powerful Chinese border chieftain named Wang Ping-hsing. This chief owns a large estate rich in all kinds of metallic ores; his territory is situated on the Yun-nan side of the An-hsi river. By his wife, who is still living, he has a son of eleven years, and two daughters. The son is his eldest child. In addition to his own family, Liu Erh has living with him several relations who hold official rank among the Black Flags,

and he also has an adopted son, who is in charge of the garrison of Pao Shêng, the Black Flags' headquarters. Liu Yung-fu is assisted by several Chinese officials who act as his secretaries. The most important are, Han Pei-ming an official of the 5th Civil rank, and Li Pei-tao the military secretary, who without the knowledge or consent of his chief ordered the execution of a foreigner some short time since.

Some time ago Liu Yung-fu returned to his native place in Shang Ssŭ Chou in Kwang-Si, and had arranged to go back and live there, but his plans were upset by a brawl, in which some of his band unfortunately killed a native of the place. Liu Erh was thus compelled by popular opinion to leave the town, and he went back to the Black Flags in Tungking, greatly to the joy of the Chinese. The Chinese believed, and perhaps justly, that the Black Flags were feared by the French, who had not only demanded the condign punishment of Liu Yung-fu and the suppression of his band, but had proclaimed them pirates who were to be exterminated. China thought that she had ready to her hand a band of determined warriors dreaded by the French, which would be of material importance in resisting the

foreign foe, and in frustrating his projects for founding a wealthy colony and inaugurating a prosperous trade. To this end Liu Yung-fu was formally invited to a conference with Imperial officials in Yun-nan. He went and found himself honoured in every possible way. He was pardoned for his offences, the ban of outlawry was annuled, and he was created a Major-General of the Chinese army. At the same conference the details of the aid he was to receive in arms, stores and money was duly arranged, after which he returned to Pao Shêng with a considerable supply of war material as an earnest of what was to follow. The Black Flags took the field, volunteers gathered round their banners, and soon the French advance beyond Ha-noi was checked. In a severe fight the French were again worsted, and left their Commander, Henri Riviére, with several of his officers and men dead on the field.

Since that time France has been continually sending reinforcements to An-nan to avenge Henri Riviére's death, but have not as yet effected anything noteworthy. She has gone to great expense for but little gain, and has set about the war in a half-hearted unworkmanlike manner. With difficulty the French troops were able to score a success of

some kind at Sontay, but so desperate was the fighting that the French loss was over a thousand men, being especially heavy in officers, whilst the loss of the enemy was slight, the dead found in the town being chiefly the non-combatant inhabitants. France will not rest satisfied with that, indeed, if she means to remain in Tungking she cannot, but will need to annex the country as far or nearly as far as Manhao. Other large towns must be taken, the spirit of the people broken, the Black Flags subdued, and their mountainous country penetrated. I estimate that for the thorough success of the undertaking the French will require an army of about 60,000 men, even if that is enough. The country, climate, in fact everything, except superior weapons and discipline, is on the side of An-nan and China. Superiority in military discipline and weapons means much, but France has to wage war with a stubbon foe, who if well trained would make magnificent soldiery. That they can fight and give a good account of themselves we have seen. Even as I write comes news from Tungking and Canton of another great Black Flag success. Whether the news is true or not cannot be certainly known for some time, as the French allow no correspondents to accompany them to the scene

of action, correspondents are absolutely dependent on the French for news, they can see and hear nothing for themselves, but must be content with what the French are pleased to tell them. Still the Chinese account of the Sontay affair proved to be more accurate than the French account. But whatever the course of events in Tungking will be, I wish to impress on all who may read this little book that An-nan has been for more than thirty centuries and still is the vassal and tributary of China; that France has ruthlessly and without legitimate excuse tried to violently oust China and seize Tungking; that the Black Flags are recognized Chinese and Annanese troops, and not rebels; that the Annanese people hate the French with a bitter unquenchable hatred; that France has already met no mean foe, and will inevitably stir up the bitter, patient, unrelenting animosity of China if she continues her present course of action; that French success will only put off the day of retribution, whereas a French reverse will be the death-blow to their dream of a colonial Empire in the East and probably cause their present Republican Government to collapse,

And further, that the only parties who will

ultimately derive benefit from the success of the aggressive policy of France will be Great Britain commercially, and China politically, for Great Britain will have the trade whether Tungking is Chinese or not, and China will heed the lessons of this Eastern imbroglio and prepare herself to cope successfully with future troubles. If France desires trade and protection for missionaries those privileges and rights can be secured by treaty. It was by treaty that Corea, for long centuries the hermit among nations, was opened to the world, and not by the thunder of French guns or victories won by foreign arms. Let France acknowledge China's position as suzerain, and while thus frankly admitting the lawfulness of China's ancient claims ask firmly that Tungking be thrown open to the commerce of the world. By so doing she will get the practical good she desires without the moral stain and possible humiliation she will incur by her policy of forcible annexation. France must consider not only the present but the future, and that outlook, even with brilliant and decided French victories now, is not at all a bright or prosperous one either for a French Tungking or France herself.

APPENDIX.

CHINESE REINFORCEMENTS FOR BAC-NINH.—GENERAL CHIANG AND OTHER OFFICERS.

In the summer of 1882, when it became evident to the Chinese government, that France was determined on annexing Tungking, precautions were taken to protect the frontier of Yun-nan, and Kwang-Si, from invasion. Accordingly, two persons possessed of some military experience, acquired whilst acting against various bands of rebels during the late civil war in western China, were appointed provincial treasurers in each of the above-named provinces. Each of them was granted a special permission to correspond direct with the government at Peking, a privilege rarely granted to officers of that rank. Those officers were commanded not to cross the frontier of China, although they were not forbidden to allow

volunteers to join the ranks of the Annanese regular army or of its auxiliary forces acting under Liu Yung-fu. It was thus expected that the French would be discouraged, and abandon the idea of annexing Tungking, if they found a formidable resistance offered to their advance into the interior.

The repulse of Riviére and his troops at the time of his attempt to take Sontay, seemed to prove that the French were not likely to continue the strife, they had left 16 officers and 60 odd French soldiers in the hands of the Black Flags, besides, many native soldiers and camp followers, and a great quantity of war material, the number of the wounded on that occasion was never exactly known, but it appears that six or eight more officers died of their wounds, and many more it is reasonable to believe suffered a similar fate.

China was mistaken, her neglect to declare herself determined to defend Tungking, encouraged the French to try again, in order to show China that they were at least equal to taking Sontay from the Black Flags, and Bac-ninh from the Chinese. The Chinese government therefore considered it expedient to promote the Yun-nan and Kwang-Si commanders to the rank of

Governors, in their respective provinces, thus granting them greater authority, and increasing their power to defend the frontier. T'ang Chum, the commander-in-chief of the Yun-nan contingent, had under him the following brigadiers, with their respective brigades:—"Liu Yung-fu, with the Black Flag brigade, forming the van, 6 battalions of 500 men each; Wu'Yung-An with the An-yi brigade, forming the right wing, 6 battalions of 500 men each; Ts'ai Piao, with the Kai-hua brigade, forming the left wing, 6 battalions of 500 men each; Chou Wan-shun, with the An-ting brigade, forming the centre, 6 battelions of 500 men to which 10 battalions were there added. These troops formed a grand total of 17,000, and comprised the Yun-nan contingent, defending the approaches to that province, by way of the Hung or Red River. So much for Yun-nan; now for the defences of Kwang-Si, the Commander-in-chief of the forces of this province, acting in Tungking, is named Hsü Yen-shiu. He has under him 22 battalions of about 350 men each. Sixteen of those battalions are at Bac-ninh and in the neighbourhood under the chief command of General Huang, who is assisted by two brigadiers, each of whom has five battalions under him.

We may thus consider the entire strength of the Kwang-Si land force to have been 22 battalions of 350 men each, or say 7,700 men. Twenty battalions were, however, added to this force in October last, and they would bring up the force to the respectable figure of 14,700. There is also a strong flotilla of small gunboats, which must be taken into account as an item of this force if the French attempt to pass Bac-ninh. The guns mounted in the flotilla are old-fashioned smooth-bores, but the men are useful for land services with their rifles. Thus we see that the Chinese have really only about 30,000 men defending their frontiers, none of whom are disciplined according to the European system, and not a single distinguished Chinese general has yet taken the field. Yet the small progress the French have been able to make has cost them a great many men and much money. The capture of Sontay cost more than was calculated; the capture of Bac-ninh will cost still more, and when it is taken, what advantage will the French have gained? Sontay is still a long way off from the frontier of Yun-nan, and it is only the beginning of difficulties that will have to be surmounted before Manhao is reached. Lao Kai cannot be

passed without a struggle, nor can the obstacles in the way be easily overthrown. On the Kwang-Si side the difficulties are just as great and the goal just as far. Lung-chou must be reached before the Chinese frontier can be said to have been attained. If France cannot see her way to creating for herself a prestige in the East without resorting to force, she should make up her mind to send out a sufficiently large body of men to secure her object. If she cannot spare a land force of 60,000 men backed by a powerful fleet, she would do well to retire from the contest whilst the dim glory of Sontay still hovers above her expedition to Tungking."

The Kwang-Si officials are now eagerly bestirring themselves for the preservation of Bac-ninh. Troops are being raised in various places for the defence of that important frontier fortress. Bac-ninh or Pei-ninh is the name of a city as well as that of the province of which it is the capital.

The Fu-liang 'Ho river separates it from the province of Ho-nei or Ha-noi, and the L'ai-p'ing river, or a branch of that stream, again separates it from the province of Niang-shan, on the east.

The Chinese will no doubt make a great effort

to hold the position in the plain before retiring to the mountain passes of the Niang-shan range, in the province of that name. I know that reinforcements have been going to the front for sometime, and the fall of Sontay has induced the Kwang-Si commander-in-chief, Hsu Yen-hsui, to take further precautions for his advanced position in the plain. Troops are being raised and drilled to the use of the foreign arms with which they have been provided.

General Chiang La-yang has received orders to proceed to the front. This officer is a man of good parts, about 6 feet high, and solidly built, he took his military degrees at an early age, and is now about 40 years old. He is a native of Ping Chou in Kwang-Si, and has some relations established as traders in Ha-noi, who have had much friendly intercourse with the French there. Since the burning of Ha-noi, however, last spring, they have not been in favour of French rule, as they were then deprived of their property by fire and looting.

Chiang will doubtless avail himself of his experiences in Tungking at this time, and may give a good account of himself. His men are all armed with sniders, excepting the body-guard of

each battalion, which is armed with Winchester repeating rifles.

Kiang La-jang has acquired a reputation for the military discipline maintained in the ranks of his force, and daily drill is insisted upon. The men are all of the same class as the Black Flags, and many of them were formerly under the same banners. The three Prefectures of Nan-ning, Hsun-chou, and Wu-chou, have been recruiting troops for some time, and the commandants of those garrisons have volunteered for active service in the field. Lieutenant-General Lin, of Nan-ning is a Hu-nan man. Major General T'ung of Hsun Chou is a An-hui man, and Major-General Te Shan at Wu-chou, is a Man-chou bannerman, so, with such men at hand, China has a variety and choice of nationalities, as well as abilities, yet untried. Lieutenant-General Lin, did good service at Canton for years, and has a considerable knowledge of foreigners. Mitrailleuses and Nordenfelts, Gatling and Gardners are familiar weapons to him. Breech-loading arms of various kinds are also to be found in his command, and I have no doubt but a few batteries of Krupps will be found there when required for use against the common enemy.

Naval matters are also being attended to in Kwang-Si, there are scores of gunboats, armed with guns of various calibre, from six-pounders carronades to twenty-four pounder siege guns. All these guns are smooth-bores, on account of their lasting qualities and the scarcity of skilled gunners. These gunboats are intended for service in the many rivers and creeks, which pour their contributions into the West River. These small craft are well adapted for the work they have to do, drawing very little water, and being easily handled; under sail, or propelled by numerous oars, they can work up into many bye-creeks, where other craft could not venture to go.

If they were armed with rifled cannon and machine guns they would truly prove formidable indeed.

Major Niang, a Cantonese of considerable experience on the West River, has charge of a squadron of this mosquito fleet. Two or three of his eight sons are to serve under him, each in command of a gunboat. This fleet can easily reach the headquarters of the Kwang-Si troops at Lung-chou.

Fleets of junks carrying military stores of

various kinds are continually passing up to the front. Banners and uniforms, tents and mess-traps, specie and ammunition, rockets for the army, and torpedoes for the fleet, are amongst the things going forward, as indispensable to a force on active service.

None of these officers and men were at Sontay, but they will very likely be found at Bac-ninh, or near its neighbourhood, if the French persist in attempting to take that place. The undisciplined Black Flags proved formidable enough at Sontay, and there is no reason to think that the defenders of Bac-ninh will be less valourous. They are drawn from the same source, armed with as good if not better weapons, and have an abundant supply of military stores, together with the advantage of a few experienced Chinese gunners for the artillery. Artillery was not used for the defence of Sontay.

A well directed shell will sometimes do immense damage. A gunboat or a magazine, may be blown up, and thus do much towards changing the fortunes of the day from success to failure. A repulse of the French at Bac-ninh, would prove their ruin in Tungking. One single reverse at this moment might be sufficient to attract a

hundred thousand men of the Black Flag type to Tungking, which would so disorganize the French Government officials as to prevent their future attempts at colonization in that quarter, and so ruin the country as to make it useless and unprofitable for years to come.

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